

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them,
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

The Arena

VOL. 36

SEPTEMBER, 1906

No. 202

SHALL LYNCHING BE SUPPRESSED, AND HOW?

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IT WILL help the reader to appreciate the pertinency and pressing importance of these questions and to answer them aright, if we recall briefly some more or less familiar history; not so familiar, however, but that it needs to be rehearsed, until the American people awake from the easy-going, complacent indifference, with which they have so long been accustomed to treat this evil.

During the last twenty years, according to well-authenticated statistics, there have been over three thousand lynchings, very many of them accompanied with barbarities and atrocities which almost beggar description and hardly find a parallel in the world to-day and have seldom been matched or surpassed in the world's history. Our country stands to-day almost solitary and alone among the nations in these most horrible and revolting infamies of mob violence. Were it not for the stern, unimpeachable facts, it would be thought incredible—indeed, scarcely conceivable—that such things could occur, or that they would be permitted to occur, in this professedly civilized, law-governed and Christian land.

The average for the last twenty years (1885-1904) has been one hundred and forty-two; the average for the first ten

years (1885-1894) was one hundred and seventy, and for the second ten (1895-1904) one hundred and twenty-four; for the first five years (1895-1899) of this second period one hundred and forty, and for the last five (1900-1904) one hundred and seven.

The number has varied greatly from year to year, now rising to a very high figure and then slowly receding for several years to a much lower point, suddenly to mount up again. Thus in 1885 the number was one hundred and eighty-four, diminishing to one hundred and twenty-two in 1887, rising again to one hundred and seventy-six in 1889. Then it fell off to one hundred and twenty-seven in 1890, but in 1892 reached two hundred and thirty-five, the highest figure for any year. Again the wave gradually receded until the year 1896, when the number was one hundred and thirty-one. The next year it rose again to one hundred and sixty-six. In 1899 it dropped to one hundred and seven, but in 1901 advanced to one hundred and thirty-five. For the years 1902-1904 the number remained at about one hundred. In 1905 it fell to sixty-six, all, except one, negroes, several of whom were burned at the stake; and all but five lynchings occurred in

nine states, where the negro population is largest.

In the opinion of men whose long and intimate acquaintance with the conditions prevailing in the South qualifies them to judge, the statistics thus briefly summarized do not tell the whole truth. Every year there are very many lynchings, in out-of-the-way places especially, that escape the notice of news-gatherers and of which no hint reaches the outside world.

A review of the long catalogue reveals certain most significant facts. At first lynching as a rule was reserved as the penalty almost exclusively for one crime, which appealed for special vengeance, because of its deep-dyed villainy. In comparatively few instances was it resorted to as a punishment for other offences. Very soon, however, other forms of criminality came to be included, until in more recent years the mob has ceased to discriminate, and the list of crimes for which lynching has been administered now comprises also murder, attempted murder or threats to kill, burglary and thieving, insults to whites, arson, and other minor offences, and the general depravity or obnoxious character of the victim when there is only a suspicion of crime. Of late about four-fifths of lynchings have been for crimes other than criminal assault, which had hitherto been the ostensible justification of lynch-law.

Besides this growing tendency to add to the number of crimes which fall under the ban of lynch-law, there has also been a steady and decided increase in the ferocity and savagery of its execution, until already, it would seem, the climax of inhumanity has been reached. Years ago the mob contented itself with hanging or shooting the victim to death. But for some years past this mode of procedure has become altogether too tame and commonplace, and the mob has practiced the most fiendish cruelties, burning its victims at the stake, piling up faggots about them and pouring on

oil, stoning them to death, sometimes mutilating and hacking their bodies, and even carrying away the charred remains as souvenirs of these orgies of brutality.

In order to give authority and impressiveness to the doings of the mob, it has often been said that "it was composed of the best citizens of the community." This is undoubtedly a too sweeping statement and not to be accepted literally. But while it may be true that the "best citizens" do not actually adjust the noose, or fire the shot, or apply the torch, yet by excusing and condoning, by acquiescing in and countenancing, or even defending the action of the mob, by doing nothing to bring the guilty parties to the bar of justice or sometimes even shielding them from arrest or refusing to convict them when placed upon trial, the great majority of the best citizens, so-called, have practically made themselves accessories after the fact and morally at least *participes criminis*.

In not a few instances, no doubt many more than are known, the mob in its reckless fury has wreaked its vengeance upon persons altogether innocent of the offences charged. Indeed the guilt or innocence of the victim is widely regarded as a matter of comparatively little moment. The head of a prominent educational institution represented a not uncommon sentiment, when, as is credibly reported, he said to the young men under his charge: "The only way to get along with niggers is to hang a few once in a while, and if the man hung is not the man who deserved it, in that case you are not likely to be far wrong, and the moral effect is the same."

The customary verdict of coroners' juries is to the effect that "the deceased came to his death at the hands of persons unknown." And grand juries either refuse to indict those accused of mob violence or recommend their discharge, even when in one case a member of the mob had confessed his own share in the affair and had implicated others.

In some instances, even after the ac-

cused has been promptly tried and convicted by a court of justice and sentenced to be hanged, the mob has not permitted the law to take its course, but wresting the prisoner from his legal guardians, has punished him according to its own diabolical will.

As a rule, with some most honorable exceptions, the constituted authorities, both state and local, whose highest office is to defend law and justice, have been shamefully delinquent in their duty. Sometimes so feeble is their resistance that they seem to be in collusion with the mob. And after the lynching has been consummated, seldom is any serious, determined effort made to bring the participants to the bar of justice, even when the leaders of the mob are well known. A search of court-records will reveal scarcely any instances in which a lyncher has been brought to trial, convicted and punished as he deserved, not more than a beggarly twenty-five or thirty out of the tens of thousands concerned in these outrages. Public opinion in the communities involved is almost invariably on the side of the mob, or is so weak and cowardly as to reduce legal procedure to a farce and make it practically impossible to secure conviction.

In July, 1904, at Eutawville, S. C., a negro, charged with cursing a farmer, was arrested, tried and convicted, and fined by the village magistrate. At night a party of men—savage beasts, rather—took him from the jail, chained him to a huge iron grating, and rowing out into the middle of a neighboring river, pushed the grating and their prisoner overboard. His body was found a few days later with seventeen stab-wounds in it, the eyes gouged out, the scalp torn off, and the fingers severed. In the following December, through the energetic and persistent efforts of the governor of the State, aided by skilled detectives, a number of arrests were made, two of them village officials, for participation in the crime. One of them turned state's evidence and implicated the others in the affair, giving

a graphic account of how the victim met his death. Hundreds of farmers of the neighborhood, we are told, swore that they would not permit the accused to be found guilty or punished, and the man who confessed was threatened with death. Of course, when the case was brought to trial in May, 1905, almost a year after the commission of the crime, it was a foregone conclusion that the accused would be acquitted.

Months have elapsed since the wholesale lynching of eight persons in July, 1905, at Watkinsville, Ga., one of the most infamous outrages in the whole history of lynch law. But no one concerned in this affair has been punished or even arrested. The prisoners were murdered, regardless of the offences charged and in defiance of the sacred and most elementary right of American citizenship, the right to a fair trial, to determine the guilt of the accused.

Public indifference on the subject of lynching is almost universal the country over. The average American citizen, as he partakes of his morning roll and coffee and reads in his daily newspaper the sickening account of the latest lynching tragedy, is moved for the time being with a thrill of horror. He lays his paper aside, goes to his daily work, becomes absorbed in the business of money-making, and—that is the end of it. The incident is closed. It is only a few days' sensation and soon forgotten. It is none of his affair, he thinks, and he is satisfied to leave it to those who are immediately concerned, forgetting that not merely the community and state where the affair occurs, but our entire nation, is deeply disgraced and dishonored in the estimation of the civilized world; that the finger of reproach, even of scorn, is pointed at us,—of contempt for a people whose institutions and government are apparently impotent to put an end to such devilish scenes, or at all events make no determined effort to prevent them or to punish those concerned in them. The callousness of the American people in the pres-

ence of this evil is amazing. The fate of the victim himself may excite no special interest or sympathy; and many perhaps may feel that no punishment is too severe for the chief crime. But have we no regard for our reputation as a civilized and Christian people, no solicitude for the brutalizing influence of these scenes, not only upon those who take part in and witness them, but also upon the very race to which the victims for the most part belong and upon those in all parts of our country who are disposed to set law and order at defiance? All experience proves that such unusual and unlawful punishments have no virtue as a preventive of crime. Itself the height of lawlessness, anarchy and crime, lynching breeds these very conditions and aggravates the very trouble it was intended to correct. The lynching spirit is an infectious as well as a contagious disease. "Lynch him! Lynch him!" has come to be the common cry of the mob, wherever in the land it rears its portentous head. Even a gang of boys, catching the lynching spirit from the newspaper accounts of these affairs, has been known to perform a mock lynching as a sort of grim amusement, with what would probably have been a fatal result to a colored boy, had it not been for the timely arrival of the police. A mob of lynchers is seldom content with the death of the immediate victim. Other crimes of personal violence upon negroes who have violated no law, very often follow in the wake of a lynching. They are beaten, shot at and driven from their homes; their houses are burned to the ground and their property destroyed, in order to intimidate and terrorize the entire neighborhood.

Security for the whites as well as for the blacks depends upon the orderly enforcement of law and the equal protection of all under the law. They who take the sword of lynch-law may themselves at last perish by the same sword. Every close observer of the drift of public feeling has noticed a growing intensity of race-

prejudice and hatred, to which nothing ministers so effectually as the practice of lynching and its attendant cruelties. Hatred by one race begets hatred in the other. Unless the causes are removed, the breach will become wider and wider, and mutual animosity more and more pronounced, with results which it requires prophetic vision to foresee.

The situation, thus briefly sketched in its most salient features, should compel the attention of the American people to the question at the head of this article: Shall lynching be suppressed? And no excuses, palliating circumstances, or pleas in extenuation should be permitted to divert attention from the simple, plain, elementary issue involved in this question.

The truth is the American people have never given an affirmative answer to this question. They have never made up their minds that lynching shall be suppressed. Let us squarely face the facts as they are. Communities and states where lynchings have occurred or where local conditions make them possible have never determined to take every precaution and use every available means, even the most radical and drastic if necessary, to prevent them at all hazards; or if in spite of this they do occur, to employ all the resources at their command to ferret out the perpetrators and bring them to adequate punishment, no matter what their social standing may be. There have been now and then spasmodic efforts in these directions, but generally it has been only a spasm, and often only half-hearted at best, to preserve appearances, but with no real, inflexible purpose to accomplish anything.

And our national government which represents America before the world—what has it ever done to meet this insistent problem and show that it, too, is determined to suppress lynching? While under the peculiar conditions which prevail in the South it has been the misfortune of that section that a large majority of lynchings occur there, they also occur in the North and West. They are not

an affair of only one section of our common country. Only five States have had a clean record. No matter where they happen, the whole nation—North, South, East and West—the entire people have a common concern about them and a common responsibility which cannot be shaken off or be put aside. If they have not been suppressed, the nation as a whole must bear its full share of the disgrace and opprobrium, because it has never applied the power and resources of national authority to the problem.

It is one of the constitutional duties of the President of the United States to communicate with the Congress from time to time by message "information on the state of the Union and to recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The prevalence of lynchings, with all their tragic incidents, is certainly a sufficiently important and menacing fact in "the state of the Union" to deserve urgent attention in a Presidential message. We could well afford to dispense with some of the long-drawn-out disquisitions on comparatively unimportant matters, that a little space at least might be devoted to this subject, that the President might arouse the national conscience, make practical recommendations to Congress and call upon that body to take such decisive action as would enable the Executive to use all the available resources of national authority for the suppression of lynching.

As a matter of fact no reference, we believe, of any practical importance has ever been made to the subject by any of our Presidents in their annual or special messages; and while several bills have been introduced, Congress has never taken any action, and the matter has seldom even been mentioned on the floor of either House. Aliens, as in the case of the Italians at New Orleans a few years ago, have on a number of occasions been the victims of mob violence. But no law has yet been passed authorizing United States officials to deal directly

with such cases; and our government has been left under the mortifying necessity of representing to foreign powers that it can do nothing of its own motion to bring the offenders to justice and can legally provide no money indemnity, such indemnity being given only as a matter of grace on our part, not as legally due.

Both the Executive and Legislative Departments and the American people have all these years practically ignored the whole subject, as if it were altogether outside of their province. Political platforms and candidates have taken as much pains to steer clear of this question as a battleship does to avoid a torpedo or a floating mine. Even the party of emancipation, while it talks and resolves about reducing the Congressional representation of certain States, in which it is alleged that the negroes have been disfranchised, utters as a party no word of condemnation for lynching and its horrors, no demand for its suppression, even if Federal power be required for this purpose.

Practically the American people and governments, local, state and national, have been cowards in the presence of this evil.

The first thing, then, to be done is to educate and organize public opinion by bringing the subject definitely and forcibly before the people of local communities and states and of the country at large, that they may be influenced to determine that this lynching madness shall be suppressed and to sustain the authorities in using the measures necessary to this end.

Perhaps no agency can do so much in this direction as the newspaper and periodical press. We believe that for the most part they can be depended upon to do their full share in awakening and shaping the opinion and will of the masses. Already many of them, even in sections most given to mob violence, have been most outspoken in its condemnation.

The political conventions of all parties

should not hesitate to take a decided stand before the people in behalf of law, order and humanity. They should nominate for public office those men only, who, if elected to executive positions, will use every lawful means to suppress the crime of lynching; or if chosen to the work of legislation, will put upon the statute-book all necessary laws; or if placed upon the bench, will deal out justice to lynchers to the full extent of the law and without fear or favor, and also to those who commit crimes that excite the lynching spirit.

Our common schools should so train their students in the principles and practice and necessity of government by law, and so cultivate in them the law-abiding spirit, that they shall always stand firm for law and order and against the anarchy of mob violence.

And this crusade should enlist the unanimous and active support of all churches and denominations. Through their clergy and millions of members they can, if they will, wield an influence against this evil that would be irresistible. For this is not altogether a political question, but one of common humanity and Christianity.

The churches and all religious people should stand unitedly and aggressively for the protection of the weak of every race. They should insist upon just, fair, Christian treatment for all alike, for the humblest, the most ignorant and degraded, the blackest, equally with the stronger and the more favored; upon their "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" in their own way, so long as they do not trespass upon the rights of their fellow-citizens; upon common, equal opportunities for all and a fair chance in life to make of themselves what they can. They should set themselves against that prejudice and spirit of caste which relegates any class of our population to a state of hopeless inferiority. Our churches can have no nobler mission than to lift such out of the slough of ignorance, moral weakness and de-

generacy, wherein breed those crimes which afford the lyncher a specious excuse for his lawlessness.

Turning now to the duty and office of government in the prevention or suppression of lynching—in the first place, what course should be adopted by the authorities in those communities and states where lynchings have occurred, or where the conditions are such that they are likely to, or possibly may, occur?

"Be prepared for the unexpected, and take no chances" should be the guiding principle. Let the legislative department pass such laws as will give ample power to all executive officers for any and every emergency and shall hold them to strict account for failure to prevent the mob from accomplishing its purpose. Some of the States have already enacted such laws, imposing heavy penalties for any dereliction in duty. And what is perhaps the most important measure of all, the State should organize a state police, or constabulary, with special reference to the suppression of mob violence.

It has been proved over and over again that the sheriff and his aids are a feeble dependence in the face of an enraged mob of hundreds and even thousands of men, bent upon lynching the prisoner. They are too few to cope with the situation, or they lack the necessary courage and determination, and weakly yield. And the state militia can seldom be relied upon for effective service; for its members are scattered, precious time is lost in calling them to the colors and moving them to the scene of the outbreak; and meanwhile the mob has accomplished its purpose. It happens not unfrequently that the officers or men, or both, are more or less in sympathy with the mob and make no determined effort to prevent the affair, and have even been known to cooperate with the lynchers. Their guns are not loaded, or are loaded with blank cartridges; or the troops are forbidden to fire, lest somebody should be hurt; or they even permit themselves to be disarmed.

The only way, therefore, to meet effectively the sudden situation is for the state to organize a permanent constabulary of sufficient numbers, under regular pay, well drilled, armed and equipped, and ready at a moment's call to be hurried to the scene, with their guns loaded, and who will be ordered to fire, should the emergency demand it. In view of the great increase in our population and its heterogeneous elements and the consequent exposure to sudden outbreaks of mob violence, the time has now come when our larger and more populous states, especially where the gravest crimes tend to multiply, should provide a state constabulary to be on duty all the time as a guarantee of public order. As a rural police such a body in constant service, with detachments posted at convenient points in the state, would be most efficient in maintaining good order throughout its confines and in preventing the very crimes which arouse the lynching spirit. It should be provided for by law, that whenever a crime has been committed, that is likely to stir the feeling of the community to a white heat and possibly lead to an attempt at lynching, the state constabulary shall immediately be ordered to the place, to aid the local officials in capturing the criminal if he is still at large, or to protect him from attack by a mob, if he is already in the hands of the authorities. In this as in other things "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."

But if in spite of these precautions the lynching is consummated, the state should then proceed with all the power the laws can be made capable of giving, to bring the lynchers to the bar of justice, be they "our best citizens" or the dregs of the community. The former who engineer a "lynching bee" are far more dangerous to society than the latter. No stone should be left unturned to secure the punishment of these enemies of social order, no matter who they are or what their social standing. The participants

are generally known in the community; or if they are not, detectives should be put upon their trail until they are rounded up and punished. Until this result is reached the authorities should not cease their most strenuous efforts.

Even the summary measures of martial law would be better than to allow lynching to continue or lynchers to go unpunished. A community in the North or South, in the East or West, that possesses all the machinery for the orderly and legal punishment of crime, and yet tolerates within its limits the infamous brutalities of the lyncher and even justifies and applauds his action, and permits him to walk its streets unwhipped of justice—such a community is a fit subject for the rigors of martial law.

If the programme thus briefly outlined is carried out by the authorities of the community and state, we may be quite certain that lynching will be quickly suppressed. But if the executive, legislative or judicial powers of the state, one or all, prove themselves unable or unwilling to accomplish this result, have the American people no recourse? Must they stand by and permit this national disgrace to continue? Is there nothing that can be done through our national government? It may be said that there is no precedent for national action. If so, it is high time that a precedent be established. Or it may be urged that the doctrine of state rights stands in the way. The friends of that doctrine will do well not to interpose it as a stumbling block in the way of national interference, when local agencies have failed in their duty.

What can the national government do in these circumstances? is a question that merits most careful consideration. We believe that a fair, common-sense interpretation of its constitutional prerogatives and of the spirit and declared purposes of the Constitution fully authorizes the national government, as a last resort, to use its power to suppress lynching. If it is so shackled and lim-

ited by constitutional regulations that it can take no effective action, surely the founders left it disgracefully impotent. We cannot believe that they did so. In the very preamble they declare that the Constitution was ordained "in order to establish justice and insure domestic tranquility." Where? Evidently in every state and territory within the jurisdiction of the government.

The first section of Article XIV., of the Amendments to the Constitution, provides that no state shall "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Now a state may deny such protection in two ways, directly, by statute, or, indirectly, by failure to pass the necessary laws or to use the powers entrusted to it by existing laws, to insure equal protection for all. If the state authorities, either through inability or through unwillingness, have failed to suppress lynching and its accompanying atrocities, they have practically denied the "equal protection of the laws" to those citizens who have been subjected to mob violence. In pursuance of Section V. under the same Article, which says: "The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this Article," Congress has passed several statutes, which, reasonably and fairly interpreted, apply to cases of lynching and read as follows:

Section 5508. "If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his so having exercised the same; or if two or more persons go in disguise on the highway or on the premises of another, with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured, they shall

be fined not more than \$5,000 and imprisoned not more than ten years; and shall, moreover, thereafter be ineligible to any office, or place of honor, profit or trust created by the Constitution or laws of the United States."

Section 5509. "If in the act of violating any provision in either of the two preceding Sections any other felony or misdemeanor be committed, the offender shall be punished for the same with such punishment as is attached to such felony or misdemeanor by the laws of the State in which the offence is committed."

Section 5519. "If two or more persons in any State or Territory conspire, or go in disguise on the highway or on the premises of another, for the purpose of depriving, either directly or indirectly, any person or class of persons of the equal protection of the laws, or of equal privileges or immunities under the laws; or for the purpose of preventing or hindering the constituted authorities of any State or Territory from giving or securing to all persons within such State or Territory the equal protection of the laws; each of such persons shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$500 nor more than \$5,000, or by imprisonment, with or without hard labor, not less than six months nor more than six years, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

If these statutes are not sufficiently specific to authorize the Federal Courts to intervene in cases of lynching, then Congress should enact any further legislation that may be needful to carry out the plain intent of the guarantees of the Constitution. If the state courts fail in their duty, let lynchings be prosecuted before United States Courts, and let all the legal and judicial machinery of the national government be brought into action. Cases of peonage and "white-capping" have been taken into the Federal Courts; why may not also cases of lynching?

Justice and a common-sense interpre-

tion of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments justify the conclusion, that there is sufficient constitutional authority for national interposition. Will that step be taken? It will be, if the American people so determine. Let them say to local and state authorities: It is primarily your duty and business to put an end to lynching and its tragedies, and to maintain the supremacy of law. But if you will not or cannot do this, then we will make it our business to accomplish it through the constitutional and legal powers of the national government.

How can we tolerate within our own borders the savagery of what has come to be known distinctively the world over as "the American lynch mob," and at the same time have the face to lecture and rebuke other nations for the outrages which take place in their backyards? If we would escape the *tu quoque* retort and avoid being politely reminded to look at home and attend to our own affairs,—if we would make our influence strong and unimpeachable everywhere for law and humanity and against anarchy and cruelty, we should maintain law and humanity within our own bounds and extirpate the abominations which cry to heaven from our own back-yard.

There are many who would temporize with this evil. "Hands off!" they tell us. "Wait! Let natural and moral forces and influences have free course. Give them time, and they will gradually and quietly solve the problem." But will they do so? Have they accomplished very much during the last twenty

years? Are they likely, *by themselves*, to effect much more during the next ten or twenty? While the number of lynchings does not now reach the startling figures of fifteen or twenty years ago, yet for the last ten years, as we have seen, the number has seldom fallen below one hundred annually, race antagonism has deepened in intensity and there has been a marked increase in the violence and barbarity of its manifestations. But grant that these forces and influences will in time bring about a cure of the disease. While we are waiting, it will continue its ravages and add more to the number of its victims,—to be sure a slowly lessening number; but every new victim, every fresh exhibition of mob violence and brutality, will be adding to our national dishonor, when if our governing authorities would handle the evil without gloves, it could be suppressed almost immediately. No, we have temporized all too long. As well temporize with a frenzied mob of lynchers as with a jungle tiger just ready to spring upon you.

There is an old saying with more or less truth in it: "If you scratch a Russian with a pin, you will find a Tartar." If these scenes of mob violence, of murder, mutilation, torture and burning are permitted to continue, if the American people who can suppress them, if they will, do not stamp out this lynching frenzy, then we need not be surprised if an impudent world shall feel justified in the taunt—Scratch an American, and you will find a savage.

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ECONOMICS OF JESUS.

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PART I.

AT THE close of the series of articles on the "Economics of Moses" it was stated that Jesus, realizing the hopelessness of curing economic ills by the mere letter of law, sought the solution of the vexed economic problem with which Moses struggled by giving to the world a spiritualized ideal of economic life.

The burden of the articles on the "Economics of Jesus" must therefore be to show what this ideal is. This task may be best performed by giving in the first article its structure as derived from the teachings of Jesus and his first disciples, and in the second its function as derived from the history of attempts made to put it into practice.

This ideal has two distinct phases—the *psychological* and the *sociological*.

The *psychological* principle is found in the emphasis which Jesus placed upon Life, making no distinction between existence here and hereafter. Under the Mosaic dispensation there is but little record of consideration of any continuation of Life beyond the earth period. The limited conception of Life of the earlier times resulted in a low estimate of its value and possibilities. More importance was given to the pleasure of the hour and the material means of producing such pleasure than to the preservation of Life or the means of developing its fullness. Life, therefore, by most minds, was considered of less importance than body, food, raiment or houses.

As evidence of this we note that Life was often sacrificed by the individual to secure these material things even when their acquisition was not necessary to existence; the law prescribed the death penalty freely for interference with sup-

posed rights in these material things; and the lives of great masses of people considered the less fortunate were sacrificed for the pleasure of those considered the more fortunate.

There was but little conception of life as being a force greater than all material things, with power to control all such things, making them a means of its fuller and larger expression, or going on its way entirely independent of all visible adjuncts.

The economic laws of Moses grew out of the material conception of Life and were a laudable effort in the direction of regulating the ownership of the material things pertaining to life by external force, on the assumption that the life itself was beyond the possibility of being regulated so as to regulate from within the material things related to it. In the then state of development of the race that assumption was tenable; and the Mosaic system was probably the best that could be devised for its time.

Jesus assumed, whether correctly or not need not here be considered, that the time had come for at least the announcement of the dominant power of Life.

The following are some of the evidences of the emphasis placed by him on Life without in any respect discounting or depreciating the body or material things, as was the custom of the Ascetic Jews and the Stoic Greeks:

"I am come that they might have Life and that they might have it more abundantly."—John, 10:10.

"As the Father hath Life in Himself, (independent of material things), so hath He given to the Son to have life in himself."—John, 5:26.

"Therefore I say unto you be not anxious (R. V.) for your life what ye

shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for the body what ye shall put on. Is not the Life more than meat and the body more than raiment?"—Matthew, 6:25.

"I am the way, the truth and the Life."
—John, 14:6.

The clear meaning of the propositions quoted, stripped of all theological traditions, is that it is possible for the individual to so develop the life "in himself," which is possessed by all "sons of God," that he shall be able to control directly or indirectly all of the material things necessary for the proper development of his Life for this or any other world.

Otherwise it is not true that the Life is more—greater, more powerful—than the meat as the body is more—greater, more powerful—than the raiment.

A few strong individuals like the Nazarene Himself may be able to develop this conquering Life "in himself" with but little or no help from his fellow-men; but without social coöperation on a large plan the development of this psychic power in the mass of mankind must be delayed indefinitely. Hence, the necessity for the *sociological* phase of this ideal of Jesus.

This phase is clearly brought out in the teachings of Jesus concerning the Kingdom of Heaven, or, according to the later translations, the Kingdom of the Heavens.

The Greek "*Basileia*" carries the same meaning as the English "Kingdom." It includes both power and place—regal authority and territory ruled.

We must choose between the meanings, "the *rule* of the heavens or heavenly principles over the *earth*" and "the heavens as the sphere of Divine government," as our conception of what is meant by the "Kingdom of the Heavens." Not to choose the former is to reject the best Biblical scholarship of our times.

Daniel gave the key to the meaning of this term when he announced to

Nebuchadnezzar, "The heavens do rule" (Daniel, 4:26); and then proceeded to show him what kingdoms should succeed his, including the one represented by the "stone cut out of the mountain without hands" which should break in pieces all other kingdoms, and ultimately fill the earth. Whatever controversy there may be about the authorship or date of this Book, it is acknowledged by the best commentators that the verse quoted gives the key to the geography of the "Kingdom of the Heavens."

The Book of Matthew is distinctly the exponent of the Messianic Kingdom. The term "Kingdom of the Heavens" occurs in it thirty-three times, and nowhere else in the New Testament. "The Kingdom of God" also occurs five times in Matthew, and many times in other parts of the New Testament, but with a less definite signification, sometimes meaning the same thing as the "Kingdom of the Heavens," but usually having either a narrower meaning, as where it refers to the church or "*Ecclesia*," as a body, or a broader meaning as a state of blessedness or ethical and spiritual condition resulting from divine rule.

The prophecies alleged to refer to this Kingdom may have some weight on this point:

"And the government shall be upon his shoulder."—Isaiah, 9:6.

"And the stone that smote the image became a great mountain and filled the whole earth."—Daniel, 2:35.

"For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord."—Isaiah, 11:9.

"And the rebuke of his people shall he take away from off all the earth."—Isaiah, 25:8.

"The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ."—Revelations, 11:16.

But the testimony of Jesus Himself as reported by Luke is conclusive:

"The Kingdom of God is among you."
—Luke, 17:21.

"Among" instead of "within" is a marginal reading and is preferred by the later translations. That this is the preferable rendering is clear from the fact that Jesus was addressing the Pharisees who were then attacking Him, and who, according to His own statement elsewhere could not be said to accommodate much of the Kingdom of God at that time as they were full of "dead men's bones."

When Jesus said in John, 18:36, "My Kingdom is not of this world," He referred to quality and source of power and not to location, as is clear from the last clause of the verse: "But now is my kingdom not from hence."

Having determined that the "Kingdom of the Heavens" always and the "Kingdom of God" sometimes, depending upon the connection, refers to a condition of human society on this earth, it remains to show what relation this Kingdom has to the economic life of the people.

The first fundamental principle of this Kingdom was announced in connection with the psychological teaching quoted above as from Matthew, 6:26, and shows the necessary connection between the *psychology* and *sociology* of the Kingdom by insisting upon the organization and establishment of a social and economic polity among those seeking to use their psychic power to conquer material conditions in these words:

"But seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you."—Matthew, 6:33.

But that this was a social and not merely an individual exhortation is evident from the expression, "For after all these (material things) do the Gentiles seek."

As if he had said, "You Jews who have had the law of Moses to teach you how to provide for the material wants of all should be able to conduct your

economic affairs so as to avoid the struggle for wealth seen among the Gentiles and you can do so by adopting the principles of the Kingdom of the Heavens which is now at hand."

The Sermon on the Mount given in the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of Matthew is acknowledged to be the Constitution of the Kingdom of the Heavens. In this organic law we find, among other economic principles, the following:

"Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth."

In Luke's account of this Sermon the word "poor" is used instead of "meek," indicating that the disinherited class was referred to, and many late translations use the word "land" instead of "earth."

With this reasonable interpretation we find the Mosaic principle of land tenure approved in the matter of providing homes for all.

The application of this principle, however, is enlarged to include reasonably the common ownership of land in which all of the then disinherited, together with the few rich who were then monopolizing the land, should inherit all the earth as a common brotherhood property, regulated only as to equitable possession, instead of the private ownership by allotment under the Mosaic law, which, although better than land monopoly, resulted in much contention about titles and landmarks.

Jesus approves the Mosaic prohibition against taking interest in this same connection:

"Lend, hoping nothing again."—Luke, 6:35.

But here again He transcends the Mosaic ideal by advising the lender not to exact or expect the return of the principal.

He approves gratuitous lending to the needy, as provided in the Mosaic law:

"From him that would borrow of thee turn thou not away."—Matthew, 5:42.

Again He goes beyond the Mosaic law by leaving out all limitations as to the circumstances of the borrower, while the ancient law applied only in cases of distress.

He approves the principle of cancellation of debts in the prayer:

"Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors."—Matthew, 6:12.

All Bible scholars agree that "debts" here include financial obligations, and there is a strong suspicion that the ritual version which uses "trespasses," which word is not found in either of the two forms of the prayer, was influenced by the Mammon worship that filled the debtors' prisons of the times in which it was made.

His cleansing of the temple near the close of His career, which was one of the chief causes of his crucifixion, was an additional approval of the Mosaic principle of commercial equality and the climax of His condemnation of Mammon worship.

This was not an act of religious reformation, as such, but of commercial reformation. He did not call the money-changers and salesmen blasphemers. He called them "thieves."

The cause of His severe accusation deserves notice. The priests and money-lenders had made a tax which was levied in the time of Moses for a special occasion (Exodus, 30:13), a permanent institution, making it a temple tax which the two or three millions who attended the three great annual feasts at Jerusalem must pay before they could worship. Jesus condemned this tax as illegal. (Matthew, 24:27).

Not only was the tax illegal, but it was required to be paid in the Hebrew half-shekel, which, on account of the Jews having lost their sovereignty and power to coin money, had become very scarce. (Smith's Bible dictionary—"Shekel").

The people were compelled to exchange their every-day Roman coin for this Hebrew half-shekel, and from the best that can be known of the circumstances, it is probable that the money-changers were able to exact ten for one in the exchange, and did so.

Jesus announced the principle of economic equality in the parable of the vineyard workers to the effect that where all are willing to labor as ability may permit and necessity require, their material compensation should be the same, regardless of actual time spent in labor.

Upon this parable Ruskin in his *Unto This Last* founded his economic ideal, in which he insists that there can be no political economy until Economics is based upon Life as the only true form of wealth.

There are those who argue that these economic principles are practicable under no circumstances; and others who insist that they are practicable under all circumstances.

Both are wrong as regards complete compliance with these principles.

Jesus Himself made the social seeking of the Kingdom of God (not its complete establishment) a condition of the individual's ability to live up to this economic ideal; and even He found it necessary to modify the economic precepts given to His disciples on account of changed social conditions.

After the Sermon on the Mount the principles of the Kingdom were so willingly and widely accepted by the oppressed classes that He spoke of the Kingdom of the Heavens suffering violence; and He sent out His disciples with instructions to provide neither silver nor gold nor brass in their purses, nor scrip for their journey, neither two coats, neither shoes nor yet staves. (Matthew, 10:9-10.) The same precepts were given to the Seventy as to the Twelve.

These precepts were then practicable because the incipient brotherhood had become so extensive that there were

groups of converts everywhere to receive and provide for the missionaries.

After the crisis in His career, however, following the rejection, He gave instructions of a different sort without retracting any of the social or economic principles set forth in the organic law of the Kingdom:

"But now he that hath a purse let him take it, and likewise his scrip: and he that hath no sword let him sell his garment and buy one."—Luke, 22:35-36.

Here, it seems, the disciples were forced back into the individualistic struggle which was so fierce that not only were they justified in returning to the holding of private property for self-protection, but were even permitted to provide weapons for self-defence.

It should appear from the foregoing that instead of the New Dispensation abrogating the economic principles of the Mosaic system it introduced a still higher ideal of economic and social life, for Jesus Himself said:

"Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am come, not to destroy, but to fulfill."

In view of this proclamation Christians could as consistently excuse themselves for theft, murder, and every other

crime under ban of the Decalogue, on the ground that they are "not under the law, but under grace," as to justify themselves for defending land monopoly, interest, and other extortions under forms of law.

Excuse may be made for not living up to the economic ideal of Jesus, and for even being forced by circumstances into violation of the economic laws of Moses on the ground that there is no sociological organization representing the Kingdom of the Heavens to enable the individual to live the new economic life; but Peter's temporary apostasy is moral heroism compared with the chronic infidelity of those who justify the annulment of the economic law of Moses, and brand the economic law of Jesus as an Utopian dream.

Having found the Economic Ideal of Jesus resting firmly on the two eternal pillars of *psychological* and *sociological* principles, it remains for the next article to show to what extent and in what manner it has gotten itself into the world's Life, and what are the possibilities of its dominating the social and economic Life of the race.

GEORGE MCA. MILLER

Chicago, Ill.

(*To be continued.*)

W. GORDON NYE: A CARTOONIST OF JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

THE SUBJECT of this sketch is one of the most thought-compelling of the small but steadily growing band of American cartoonists and illustrators who place moral idealism above all material or personal considerations, and who are willing to make great sacrifices in order that they may be true to their

ideals of justice, faithful to the inner light, and thus true to the high demand of their spiritual nature.

Like Gerald Massey the poet, like Maxim Gorky and Jack London, the novelists, he learned to think seriously and fundamentally after he had fallen under the wheel of our much-vaunted

modern commercialism. Gerald Massey, it will be remembered, when a little sickly boy was forced to labor fourteen hours a day amid the unsanitary environment of the English factories, in a desperate battle to keep the wolf of starvation from the wretched little home. It was seeing and feeling all the bitterness of extreme poverty, and beholding with horror-dilated eyes the degradation that companions dire poverty when it exists side by side with wealth swollen to abnormal proportions by injustice, privilege, corruption and indirection, that called forth many of his most powerful and conscience-arresting poems. The knowledge gained by experience and observation of the nation-destroying influence incident to such injustice and inequality, and the great new hope born of the ever-broadening horizon which progressive democracy revealed, gave us such starzas as this:

"When the heart of one-half the world doth beat
Akin to the brave and the true,
And the tramp of democracy's earth-quaking feet
Goes thrilling the wide world through—
We should not be crouching in darkness and dust,
And dying like slaves in the night;
But big with the might of the inward 'must'
We should battle for freedom and right!
Our fathers are praying for pauper pay,
Our mothers with death's kiss are white;
Our sons are the rich man's serfs by day,
And our daughters his slaves by night."

It takes the lash of adversity, the goad of hunger and want, to awaken most of us to a sensible realization of the fruits of injustice and inequality and the moral responsibility devolving on every man in a free state to think earnestly and funda-



Nye, in Watson's Magazine.

THE LONG CLIMB OF THE CENTURIES.

mentally on all great political and economic problems and to be eternally vigilant, in order that privilege or class interests may not gain a foothold of vantage and thus injuriously affect the interests of all the people. And in this respect Gordon Nye was no exception to the rule.

II.

He was born on a farm and his early years were spent in the wholesome atmosphere of country life. He attended the free schools until he was fifteen years of age. Then he did any kind of work he could obtain, sometimes selling papers,

Nye, in *Watson's Magazine*.

"WHAT HAS BECOME OF THE SURPLUS?"

sometimes painting fences, always seeking honest employment and never afraid of work. When seventeen years of age he had the opportunity given him to learn the machinist's trade. This he eagerly embraced and at nineteen he left home to battle for a livelihood. All went well for a time. Then came a strike, and the shop where he worked was closed. His little savings rapidly diminished. It was in a time of general business depression. The great manufacturing trusts and monopolies were well stocked with their products and they desired to raise prices. Hence they let labor become a drug on the market. It was the old, old story, the oft-played game, in which the few who controlled the markets and enjoyed monopoly rights have the producing and consuming millions completely at their mercy, and in which, coming and going, the privileged lords of the market and the street reap their millions out of the poor.

"For a time," said Gor-

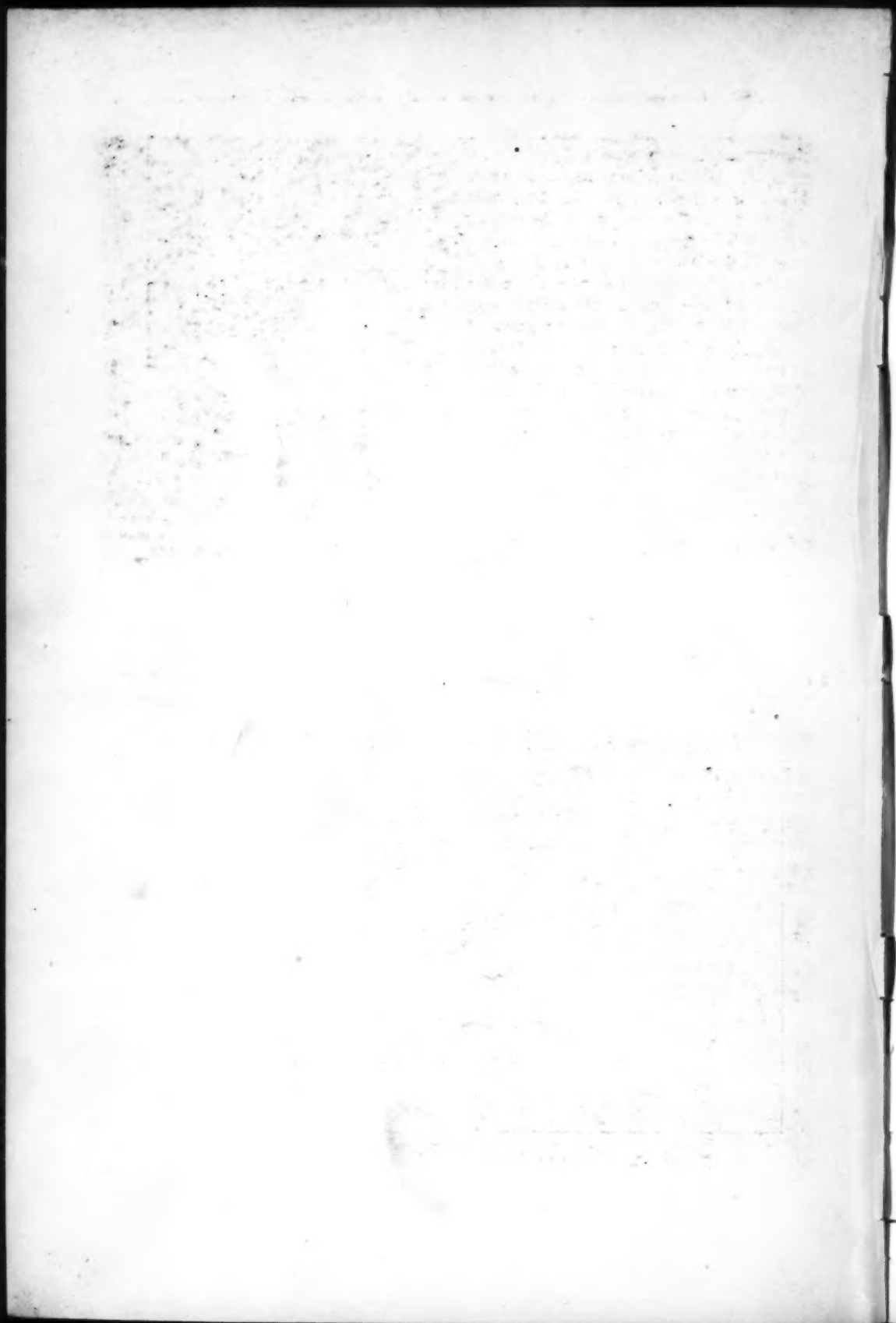
don Nye recently, when in a reminiscent mood, "it seemed that everything went wrong. All doors of opportunity were closed. Everything seemed to conspire to press me downward towards the frightful abyss where exist the starving and the hopeless ones. I was hundreds of miles from home. I tried to get work at anything in order to earn an honest dollar. I tramped the highways day after day, but with no success. At length my last penny was spent. I was a common Hooligan, with nothing to eat and nowhere to sleep save on the bare ground. I lost flesh rapidly. But in this condition of wretchedness I was by no means alone. Numbers of men were like me vainly seeking work and slowly starving.

Nye, in *Watson's Magazine*.

MONEY MADNESS.



W. GORDON NYE





Nye, in *Watson's Magazine*.

"THE ARMOUR PACKING COMPANY WENT INTO OUR CAMPS AS FRIENDS."

Some of them fell by the wayside; others, after struggling desperately to maintain their self-respect and manhood, at last seemed to give up all hope and became members of the vast family of human derelicts. I saw many such tragic spectacles. When at last I reached home I was so emaciated that my own friends did not recognize me."



Nye, in *Watson's Magazine*.

"WE ARE WEAKENING THE MASSES TO CREATE RYANS AND MORGANS."

It was during this terrible experience that the soul of the young man awoke. He was a part of the democracy of the out-of-works. He felt the pangs of hunger which thousands of others were feeling. He did not desire charity. He only asked for the boon of an opportunity to earn an honest living, but this was denied him; while all around the thousands of starving and homeless ones he saw people spending more money on horses, carriages, luxuries and foolish extravagances than a hundred men like himself could hope to earn in a lifetime. This spectacle forced the young man to think and to think



W. G. Nye.

WHERE IS OUR BOASTED PROSPERITY?

"What a farce it is to talk of the schools providing equal opportunity for all when there are hundreds of thousands of children in our city schools who cannot learn because they are hungry!"—W. H. Maxwell, Superintendent of New York City Schools.

seriously and fundamentally. Here was something wrong; here was the fruit of injustice and inequality; here was want that was in no wise the result of idleness, shiftlessness or dissipation. On the other hand, was vast wealth, the fruit of privilege, gambling or indirection, and not the result of thrift and frugality on the part of those who had acquired it. It was the old story of human suffering on the part of the multitude that the few might unjustly acquire unearned and often undeserved wealth and power, against which the democratic revolution was a protest. It was precisely the same phenomenon as was seen in class-ruled

lands, where equality of opportunities and of rights was denied the people; where through special privilege, oppression and indirection the few were able to live off of the many.

Could this be the result of democracy in practical operation? Could a state where there was guaranteed equality of opportunities to all and special privileges to none present so hideous a spectacle as that which he perceived on every side? Or had the government become recreant to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the fundamental principles upon which the fathers builded?

It did not take him long to discern the fact that privilege, monopoly in land, monopoly in transportation, protective tariffs and other forms of privilege were the great feeders of inequality and the most prolific mother of misery and in-



Nye, in *Watson's Magazine*.

THE CARTOON WHICH MR. BELMONT DESCRIBED AS SEDITIOUS.

justice experienced by the wealth-producing masses. It was recreancy to the democratic ideal and not failure of democracy. De Tocqueville was right: the cure for the evils of democracy was more democracy.

Heretofore the young man had drifted with the current, doing little or no thinking for himself and taking his views for the most part at second-hand, from editors of daily papers that were beholden to the privileged interests. Now, however, he began to reason for himself. He ceased to look through the spectacles of the paid attorneys and special pleaders of privileged interests. Slowly the light began to dawn upon him. He found that the taproot of social inequality lay in privilege and the practical denial of equality of opportunities and of rights which it involved; and with this new light came a resolute determination to battle for a restoration of the government to the people. "For," said he, "I saw and felt that false ideals were slaying the Republic, just as they had slain Rome long ago." He determined to devote his life henceforth to arousing the people. But how? The press was the greatest present-day opinion-forming



G. W. Nye.

R. D. MAC LEAN.

agency, and in the press the cartoonist was becoming one of the most potent factors in influencing the slow-thinking millions. He thought of Nast and his work, and he determined to become a

cartoonist and illustrator who should fearlessly unmask the wrong and set over against the sordid materialism of the market the high moral idealism which is the hope of civilization.

But how could he obtain the necessary instruction? This was the problem which he determined to master. When he was strong enough to get work he succeeded in obtaining a position at his trade where he worked diligently during the day and at night he devoted his time to art. In order to do this he had to practice the greatest pos-



Nye, in Watson's Magazine.

"THE RAILROAD KING SITS AT THE HEAD OF THE TABLE IN THE FEASTS OF BOTH PARTIES."



W. G. Nye.

"MC CURDY, THE MISSIONARY."

sible self-denial and overwork soon proved too much for him in his weakened condition. He was taken ill and for five weeks lingered between life and death. Then he rallied and with purpose unshaken he again set out to achieve success, working by day and attending the School of Industrial Arts of Philadelphia by night. For three years he thus labored with that splendid determination that spells success, and in 1901 he began his successful career as a cartoonist and a purposeful illustrator.

III.

His early work was on the *Philadelphia Telegraph and Bulletin* and on Macfadden's *Physical Culture Magazine*. Later he was employed as cartoonist for the Democratic National Committee during the Parker campaign. He accepted this position supposing that the party managers were honest in their

pretensions. Of his rude awakening we shall presently speak. During this period his drawings appeared in leading Democratic papers, such as the *New York News*, *Louisville Courier-Journal*, *Buffalo Evening Times*, *Brooklyn Citizen*, and several other prominent party-journals. Still later he became cartoonist for *Watson's Magazine*, in which monthly he has done much of his most fruitful and telling work.

Mr. Nye's experience as cartoonist for the Democratic National Committee is valuable as affording an additional illustration of the fact that has been recently emphasized by David Graham Phillips,—that the feudalism of wealth or the "interests" work together in both the old parties, first to deceive and then to plunder the people. It is all one whether it is Belmont and Ryan or Morgan, Rogers and Baer. They are patriots for plunder and they serve under the flags of the two old parties to make it possible for plutocracy to control government through the political merger. But Nye was unsophisticated. He knew the Democratic party claimed to be the poor man's friend; that it pretended to be at war against the trusts, and especially to oppose the high tariff; and he gladly entered this new field believing that it would enable him to strike some telling blows for the emancipation of the people from the thralldom of the trusts and protected monopolies. He supposed he was to have a free hand to make the most effective cartoons he was able to draw. He was told, however, that Mr. Belmont was to pass on all cartoons.

His first drawing was aimed against the high tariff, which he knew the Democrats had for generations pretended to oppose. He knew also that Mr. Havemeyer, one of the chief beneficiaries of the tariff among the great trust magnates, had admitted when a witness before the United States Senate Committee, that the tariff was the mother of the trusts. He knew that the great steel-trust was laying down its products in

England and Canada at from six to eleven dollars per ton less than it charged the American railway builders and other consumers of steel and iron. He knew that what was true of the steel-trust's extortions, made possible by the tariff, was true of many other trusts. Moreover, he knew that in the end it was always the consumers who paid for the extortions of monopoly. He had seen the frightful result of privilege granted by a recreant government, in the pitiful derelicts he met when he himself was starving and vainly seeking work. And as at this particular moment several of the Armour-Depew class of eminently respectable citizens, who in most instances were coining millions through extortion by virtue of the tariff, were clamoring for the election of the Republican ticket, he drew a cartoon into the making of which he threw his whole heart. It was an answer to the eminent citizens who were fattening off of the poor through the tariff and other privileges. In it a prosperous, self-satisfied citizen symbolizing the trusts held aloft a banner demanding that the men in his employ should vote for Roosevelt. In the background rose the tariff wall. The figure stood on bags of gold that rested on the bodies of the toilers,—the child-slaves, the sweat-shop girl, the over-worked and struggling miners and other day-workers. The cartoon pleased its author and he believed it would appeal to the leaders. But to his amazement Mr. Belmont eyed it with great disfavor. The longer he looked upon it the more excited and indignant he seemed to become. At last he turned sharply on the cartoonist exclaiming: "That is seditious! That is seditious!" Belmont wanted no cartoons that would hurt the privileged interests, undeceive the people or make them think. Nye was naturally as disheartened as he was astonished. His next cartoon fared no better. Taggart, catching sight of it before Belmont saw it, promptly condemned it.

These experiences served to open the



Nye, in *Watson's Magazine*.

"IT IS HARD . . . TO HAVE TO RETURN A
QUARTER MILLION DOLLARS OF
STOLEN MONEY . . ."

cartoonist's eyes. He beheld the hollow mockery of the pretensions of these political shysters and patriots for personal revenue. He at once wrote his father, describing the situation and urging him to vote for President Roosevelt. That hundreds of thousands of honest and patriotic Democrats saw the situation as did the young cartoonist and voted for Roosevelt, while other hundreds of thousands remained at home, the election showed. They voted for Roosevelt or refused to vote at all, not because they admired the President or because they cherished any less devotedly the fundamental principles of progressive democracy, but because they could not stand for the betrayal of a great party to the princes of privilege and the Huns of plutocracy.



W. G. Nye.

MR. MORGAN.

IV.

The general cry of prosperity was raised by the trusts, mining magnates and other beneficiaries of privilege which were at that time employing tens of thousands of children and coining millions of money from the slavery of these helpless ones who were being robbed of the rightful heritage of youth because their parents were underpaid; and at the same time in the great cities there were other thousands of underfed school-children, as had been pointed out by Professor Maxwell, Superintendent of Schools in New York, in an address delivered in St. Louis, this educator saying:

"What a farce it is to talk of the schools providing equal opportunities for all, when there are hundreds of thousands of children in our cities who cannot learn because they are hungry."

This spectacle suggested Nye's popular cartoon, "Where Is Our Boasted Prosperity?"

Among the cartoons which Mr. Nye has contributed to *Watson's Magazine*, to illustrate the gifted editor's trenchant comments on passing events, we have selected a few which well illustrate the artist's ability as a cartoonist. One of these pictures is symbolical. The background is Wall street, with Trinity Church in the distance. The dollar sun has hypnotized the multitude, who, having climbed to the top of the great buildings, press forward to the abyss under the spell of money-madness. They fall on every hand, and at the base are revealed the insane asylum, the poor-house and the potter's field.

A second drawing is entitled "What Has Become of the Surplus?" and was suggested by revelations in connection with the insurance companies. This cartoon is especially impressive just now, in view of the recent appalling revelations of immorality among the millionaire class of New York which have come to light since the murder of Stanford White by Harry Thaw.

A third cartoon represents the real power in American political life—plutocracy—thanks to the political merger or the partnership of the boss and the machine manipulators of both parties with the public-service corporations and protected interests.

"We Are Weakening the Masses to Create Ryans and Morgans," "The Armour Packing Company Went Into Our Camps as Friends," and "The Climb of the Centuries" are other highly suggestive drawings.

Mr. Nye has also been very successful in presenting a gallery of high financiers and pillars of the modern commercial feudalism. Of these we present four portraits, those of J. Pierpont Morgan, "Missionary" McCurdy, Chauncey Depew and John D. Rockefeller.

As an illustrator Nye has also done some excellent work. We give a characteristic example showing what he has accomplished in line portraiture.

V.

Like many progressive democrats, Mr. Nye distrusts Socialism while favoring many Socialistic measures. In this respect he resembles M. Clemenceau, the strongest man in the present French cabinet, who recently, when answering M. Jaures' plea for a collective state, declared himself in favor of various Socialistic measures, such as popular ownership and operation of railways and mines, old-age pensions, etc. In discussing present-day political and economic conditions Mr. Nye recently said:

"While I am not a Socialist and do not believe Socialism possible until men reach a higher degree of intelligence in general and show more of that unselfish love for their fellowmen that was shown by Christ, yet I do believe that the common people are not receiving a just deal. How do I know this? By experience. By having worked five and one-half years shoulder to shoulder with my fellowmen as a machinist. Do I not know men—good men—my friends, who work for the 'Divine right' George Baer of the Reading Railroad ten and one-half hours per day for 90 cents to \$1.25 per day? And if there is any race-suicide in the country, here is where I find it. These men cannot exist on the wages paid them. Their children, ten or twelve years of age, are forced into the hungry mills, and there their young bodies are literally coined into dollars. From the mills they go in a small wooden box to the hillside. The state laws of Pennsylvania do not allow children to work in mills under fourteen years of age, and many a time I have asked these small, pale, yellow-faced lads the question: 'How old are you?' and always they reply: 'Fourteen.' And then questions like these present themselves to me: How long can a nation exist when it teaches its little boys to deliberately lie? Is it not horrible when we think that mothers must tell their little sons to lie in order that the family may live? Have I not



Nye, in *Watson's Magazine*.

"DOES IT PAY?"

seen all these things? Have I not seen my own friends work year after year for capital, and when the time came that they were all wrenched and twisted and torn out of shape by toil or accident, cast adrift by their masters like so many cattle? My heart cries out against these conditions. As I look into the premature old, wrinkled and careworn faces of these men, a great pity swells within me, for they never thought, never knew, how heartless men could be to men until they came face to face and began the battle

with poverty. After a while these men begin to think and talk, and if Socialism ever becomes a power, it will be because these men, driven by soulless capitalism and bitter poverty to the last stage, will turn and wipe capitalism out of existence, because they are forced to believe that capitalism forfeits its right of existence when it permits widespread bestial poverty.

"I have an intense desire to have the government brought back to the ideals of Jefferson and shall do all in my power to awaken the public conscience to the fact that men of the Rogers, Belmont, Morgan and Ryan type, who dominate American politics to-day, who control and nominate the candidates for the people, are neither Democrats nor Republicans. They are innocent of principles and their master-passion is to relieve the masses of what they earn. They show utter contempt for law, and when men, or a band of men, have no respect for law they become anarchists and must be treated as such. They are the real

anarchists. My ambition is to educate the masses to clearly understand this fact. I want them to take an interest in the welfare of the country, her laws and her free institutions. These are the things I am fighting for. The road is long, the climb is hard, but I shall do the best I can."

Gordon Nye belongs to the army of young American emancipators. He is doing a work for our time not unlike that which Massey and Mackay accomplished in the England of the forties and which Whittier and Lowell wrought in the great anti-slavery conflict in America. The hope of the Republic lies in such young men who fully realize the moral obligations they owe to the cause of justice and humanity and who are noble enough to rise above all sordid and selfish considerations and devote their lives to the advancement of the fundamental principles of democracy.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

AN ARTIST'S MESSAGE ON CHRIST AND CONVENTIONAL CHRISTIANITY.

AN EDITORIAL SKETCH.

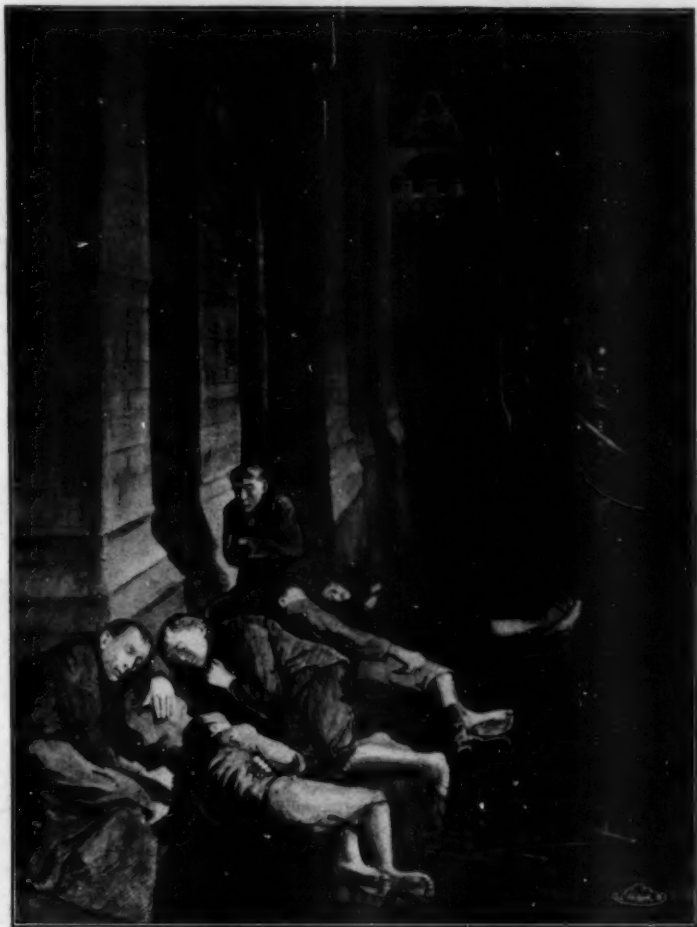
WHEN the Great Nazarene trod the sands of Palestine he found the church rich and powerful. Her rulers, elders and chief dignitaries were as greatly concerned with ritual and dogma as they were faithless to their most sacred trust—the real well-being of the people. Of the Pharisees Jesus said: "Ye compass land and sea to make one proselyte"; and referring to the death-dealing influence they exerted he added, "and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves."

The Pharisees, the pillars of the church

at that time, made long prayers in public. Unctuous rectitude marked their ostentatious piety. They broadened their phylacteries. They gave alms in the most public places, to be seen of men and to silence the tongue of criticism which might otherwise be raised against their cruel injustice and usurious deeds; for Jesus adds that they devoured widows' houses and for a pretence made long prayers. Their pretentious zeal doubtless served to cloak their systematic practice of injustice and extortion against the disinherited mass of the poor and unfortunate ones. Being moral cynics

and evil-minded, they could not conceive of a pure and lofty soul associating with the degraded ones of earth for the noble purpose of uplifting them. Hence when Jesus mingled with publicans and sinners that he might touch the divine spark

but spirituality languished before an advancing materialism that has already fastened itself on the imagination of church and society. The religious organization was concerned with "mint, anise and cummin," while, as Jesus



George Taylor, Del.

THE TEMPLES OF GOD.

resident in every soul and by kindness and sympathy lead the erring ones into the light of a purer and truer life, the conventional religionists were scandalized. "This man eats with publicans and sinners," they sneeringly cried. "He is a wine-bibber and the friend of sinners."

Splendid synagogues rose on all sides,

pointed out, it systematically neglected the "weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith." Money-madness had seized upon the pillars of the church. They struggled for gold and station as starving men struggle for bread, and we doubt if anything weighed more heavily in the Jewish council that de-

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terminated that Jesus must be put to death than the commission of that act of supreme courage—the denunciation and the driving out of the money-changers from the temple of God. And while the leaders of conservative religion flattered

and despairing, while He himself had not where to lay his head.

For two thousand years the generations of men have come and gone since then. The church that rose after the martyrdom of the Nazarene by the conserva-



George Taylor, Del.

BUT THE SON OF MAN HATH NO PLACE TO REST HIS HEAD.

the rich and powerful who liberally supported the church and upheld ritual and dogma though neglecting the struggling and sinking poor, the Founder of Christianity journeyed from hamlet to town, from village to city, ministering to the needy ones and to the afflicted, strengthening and encouraging the weak, hopeless

tive religionists of His time has grown from an infinitesimal beginning until it dominates Western civilization. It has grown rich and powerful, but to the artist and the poet with the seeing eye it has also become vain-glorious and worldly-minded, until the analogy between the national religion of the Jews in Jesus'

time and the conventional Christianity of to-day is as startling as it is humiliating and disappointing. Here we see on every side stately temples of God, representing millions upon millions of dollars, and almost under their very

shadow of these temples of God are the houseless children of God, exiles from the Father's bountiful board, denied the rights, the comforts, the happiness and the development that would be theirs but for special privileges acquired by



George Taylor, Del.

FIRE INSURANCE

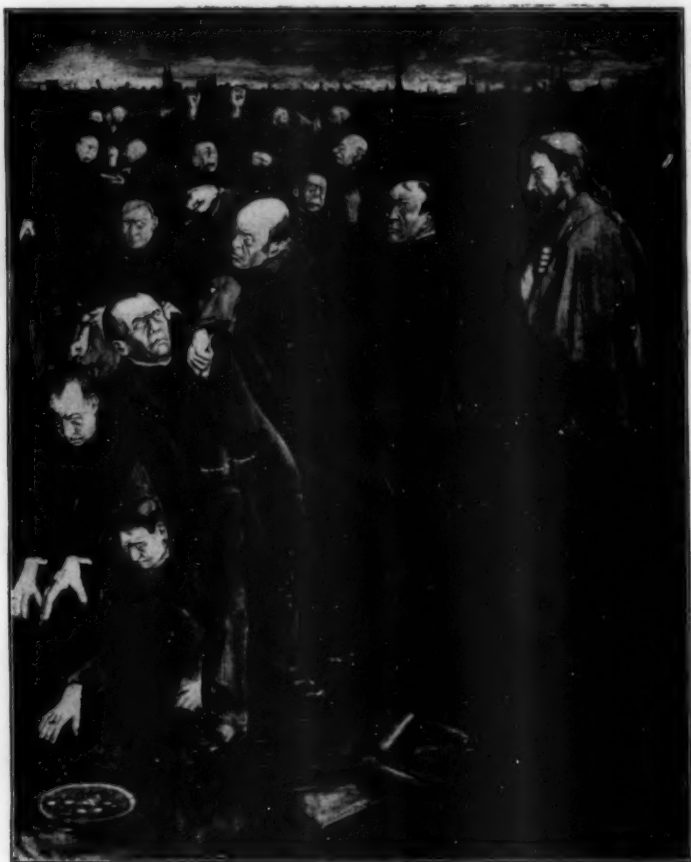
shadow, in all our great cities, are scores and hundreds, and sometimes thousands of God's images shelterless, hungry, hopeless, vainly searching for labor and finding none; striving for a foothold only to fall into the abyss of the slums; seeking for some hand to help them to the light, but finding none. Under the

the few, which destroy equality of opportunities and enable the protected ones to devour the sustenance of the many. On every side we behold the splendid cathedrals reared for the worship of the One who taught the fatherhood of God and the common brotherhood of man, and that the test of discipleship was not

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to be found in professions or in ostentatious giving, but in seeking and saving the helpless and the lost, in ministering to the needy and in visiting the sick and imprisoned ones. And as he looks forth over the field of the world, our artist and

class-favoritism, that place the millions at the mercy of the few and render inevitable involuntary poverty while fostering and favoring the spread of vice and the increase of crime, sleek and well-fed priests and ministers are preaching serv-



George Taylor, Del.

IN HIS NAME.

poet of to-day sees that still the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head.

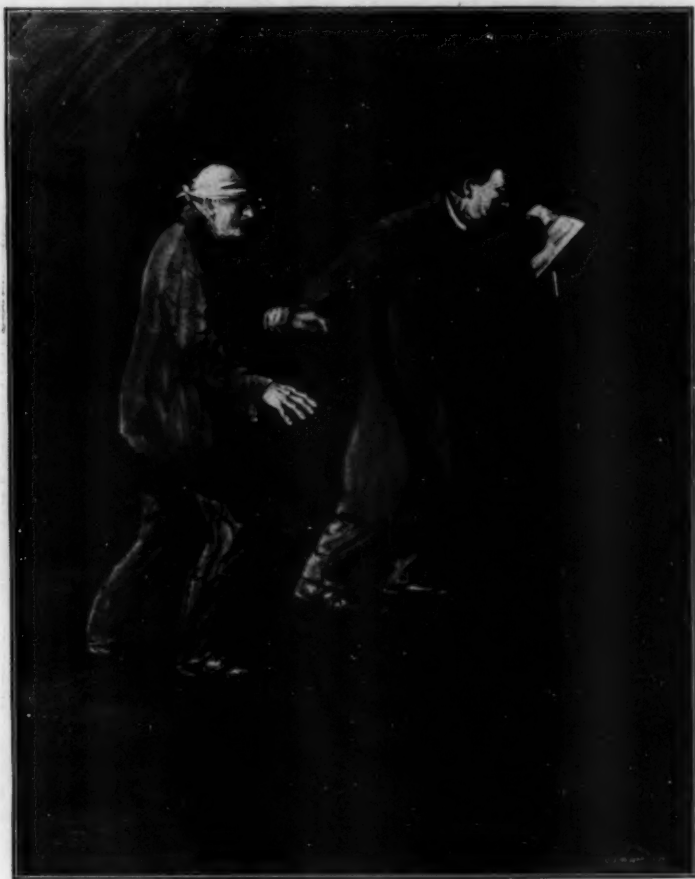
Nor is this all. Amid essentially unjust conditions—conditions which permit monopolization in the great free gift of the common Father to His common children—the land; conditions marked at every turn by special privilege and

idle contentment to the slaves of the trust-magnates, the princes of privilege and the monopoly barons,—preaching contentment as a religious duty, when the poor men thus enjoined are receiving but a fraction of the wealth they earn, so little, indeed, that their tender children are compelled to work in factory, mill

and mine to sustain the life of the family.

On the other hand, the artist and poet also notes with horror and disgust the hope held out to the millionaire whose wealth is the fruit of indirection, corrupt practices and evasion of law, of unjust

the degradation of religion writ large in the eager striving for tainted gold by men of every church and creed—the readiness to become dumb or to openly defend iniquity as a price of gifts for church and school; yet he is not blind to the fact



George Taylor, Del.

FAITH—BLIND LEADER OF THE BLIND.

advantages taken and of extortion practiced, that by liberal donations to missionary causes, by princely giving to churches and religious schools, he can escape that retribution that is of necessity inevitable to the unjust and the guilty so surely as there is another life, if Justice sits at the helm of the universe. He sees

that there are many noble-minded clergymen who are loyal and true to the Christ ideal, and that there are millions of earnest, high-minded disciples whose lives are fine and who are striving to follow in the footsteps of the Nazarene. As there were the Gamaliels and the Josephs of Arimathea and the Nicodem-

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muses in Jesus' time, so there are the Gladdens and the Pentecosts and the Cranes in the Christian fellowship to-day who are representative of scores upon scores of courageous Christian ministers who dare to be true to the vision.

Gladden voted down in the councils of Congregationalism; he sees Dr. Pentecost, after denouncing tainted gold in a great Baptist congregation, no longer desired as its pastor; he sees Chancellor Day of the great Methodist fellowship



George Taylor, Del.

PREACHING CONTENTMENT.

Still, just as the Nazarene, the prophets and the apostles of the elder day saw the soul-drugging and destroying influence of the materialism of the market, so he also sees the mania for gold on the part of the great conservative religious organizations, drugging, silencing and paralyzing the church. He notes Dr.

denouncing the President of the United States and all who criticize the criminal rich of the Standard Oil trust; and he notes the anæsthetizing influence in pulpit and press, where the gifts of the law-breaking rich are equally hoped for. And seeing all these things, the artists and the poets take up brush and pen and

become the prophets and teachers of our day.

In the striking and thought-stimulating original drawings contributed to this issue of *THE ARENA* by the brilliant Australian artist, Mr. George A. Taylor, great solemn truths and suggestive lessons are pictured in an impressive manner. Mr. Taylor has done with the brush what our great poet, James Russell Lowell, some years ago did with his pen when he wrote the following vivid lines, which were never more appropriate than they are to-day:

"Said Christ the Lord, 'I will go and see
How the men, my brethren, believe in me.'
He passed not again through the gate of birth,
But made himself known to the children of earth.

Then said the chief priests, and rulers, and kings,
'Behold, now, the Giver of all good things;
Go to, let us welcome with pomp and state
Him who alone is mighty and great.'

With carpets of gold the ground they spread
Wherever the Son of Man should tread,
And in palace-chambers lofty and rare
They lodged him, and served him with kingly fare.

Great organs surged through arches dim
Their jubilant floods in praise of him;
And in church, and palace, and judgment-hall,
He saw his image high over all.

But still, wherever his steps they led,
The Lord in sorrow bent down his head,
And from under the heavy foundation-stones,
The son of Mary heard bitter groans.

And in church, and palace, and judgment-hall,
He marked great fissures that rent the wall,
And opened wider and yet more wide
As the living foundation heaved and sighed

'Have ye founded your thrones and altars, then,
On the bodies and souls of living men?
And think ye that building shall endure,
Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor?

'With gates of silver and bars of gold
Ye have fenced my sheep from their Father's fold;
I have heard the dropping of their tears
In heaven these eighteen hundred years.'

'O Lord and Master, not ours the guilt,
We build but as our fathers built;
Behold thine images, how they stand,
Sovereign and sole, through all our land.

'Our task is hard,—with sword and flame
To hold thine earth forever the same,
And with sharp crooks of steel to keep
Still, as thou leftest them, thy sheep.'

Then Christ sought out an artisan,
A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,
And a motherless girl, whose fingers thin
Pushed from her faintly want and sin.

These he set in the midst of them,
And as they drew back their garment-hem,
For fear of defilement, 'Lo, here,' said he,
'The images ye have made of me!'"

AYACUCHO: THE SPANISH WATERLOO OF SOUTH AMERICA.

WITH SOME FORGOTTEN FACTS ABOUT THE INDEPENDENCE
OF THE UNITED STATES.*

BY PROFESSOR FREDERIC M. NOA.

NOTHING so forcibly illustrates what the Hon. John Barrett calls "the lamentable ignorance" prevailing generally throughout the United States

*The material for the preparation of this article on the Battle of Ayacucho, and the career of its winner General Sucre, some years later foully assassinated, has been taken from two principal sources. The first of these is the comprehensive *Vida Del Gran Mariscal de Ayacucho (Life of the Great Field Marshal of Ayacucho)*, by Dr. L. Villanueva, published in Caracas, 1895, by order of President Joaquin Crespo, of Venezuela; the second source drawn upon has the title of *The Memoirs of General Miller, in the Service of the Republic of Peru*, by John Miller (two volumes), London, 1828.

in regard to Latin America and her history as the fact that scarcely any American knows anything about the gigantic and heroic war for independence lasting fif-

The American Quarterly Review (September, 1829) has an excellent analysis of Miller's work. General John Miller, a British veteran of the school of the Duke of Wellington, took an active and leading part in the decisive battle of Ayacucho, which forever assured the independence of the United States as well as of the whole of the vast Latin-American Continent, from the Rio Grande of Texas down to Cape Horn, at the southern extremity of South America. Miller's excellent account is the only authentic one hitherto published in the English language.

teen years, from 1810 to 1825, which the revolted colonists of Spain in Mexico and South America maintained until at last victory crowned their efforts at the final epoch-marking battle of Ayacucho, Peru, won by General Sucre, December 9, 1824. This is all the more surprising because there is constant glorification in what is known as the Monroe Doctrine, reinforced by the Roosevelt Doctrine, while Americans in general have completely forgotten that neither would to-day be worth the paper upon which it is written had not General Sucre won a decisive triumph for liberty and enlightenment on the plateau of Ayacucho, in the loftiest Andes of Peru. If, on the other hand, the tide of battle had turned, eighty-one years ago, against Sucre and the South American patriots, the Holy Alliance of Continental European monarchs would have intervened to partition Mexico and South America among themselves, and the United States would have probably lost their dearly bought independence, and have long become as much of an enslaved geographical expression as Poland is in the midst of the Russian Empire.

The history of the events leading up to the battle of Ayacucho cannot be clearly outlined without some brief summary of the life and career of the illustrious General José Antonio de Sucre, the dearest bosom-friend of the Liberator Bolivar, and the contemporary of President Monroe.

General Sucre, born in Cumaná, Venezuela, on the 3d of February, 1795, came from distinguished Spanish parentage and from a long line of ancestors who, for many generations, had held high military positions under the viceroys of the South American colonies of Spain. His opportunities for education were extremely limited, and mainly of a military nature. At the age of fifteen, he received his first baptism of fire under the venerable General Francisco Miranda, fighting in the sacred cause of Venezuelan and South American liberty. He re-

mained true to his commander-in-chief, in spite of the terrible earthquake of 1812 and other unexpected reverses which completely shattered the bright hopes of the patriots of Northern South America, and led to the capture of the saintly Miranda, shortly afterwards transported in chains to Cadiz, Spain, where he languished in a dark, loathsome cell until death mercifully relieved him, four years later, from his undeserved martyrdom.

Young Sucre now shared the fortunes of Bolivar and thousands of other Venezuelan exiles, encountering a number of vicissitudes, yet serene in spite of accumulated misfortunes, generous and merciful notwithstanding the ruthless slaughter of many of his nearest relatives by the Spanish authorities, and firm in his unshaken conviction that the cause of liberty in South America would finally triumph. This sublime faith saw itself justified when at length, through the matchless military genius of Bolivar, the tide of victory began in 1819 to turn steadily in favor of the patriots of Venezuela and Colombia. In this great work, Sucre, whose extraordinary talents Bolivar had long ago perceived, played a most prominent part, and, in 1820, brought about a most liberal convention with the royalists that thereafter both sides should conduct the war according to the laws of humanity and civilization.

Hostilities, after a six months' armistice, being resumed in April, 1821, the victorious armies of President Bolivar bore the banner of freedom and light, under General Sucre, southward from Colombia into the regions of the equator and liberated from Spanish thralldom the extensive territory of Quito, afterwards renamed Ecuador. Meanwhile, General San Martin, the illustrious liberator of the southern half of Spanish-speaking South America, that is, Argentina, Chile and Peru, was approaching the same region of Ecuador. Bolivar and San Martin, the two greatest military geniuses of Latin America, held, in July, 1822, a three days' secret conference in

Guayaquil. Unfortunately, it was impossible for them to reach an agreement, and San Martin, rather than endanger the liberties of South America by domestic rivalries between himself and Bolivar, resigned his unlimited power as Protector of Peru, and shortly afterwards retired to Europe.

San Martin's sudden retirement into poverty and private life left the Peruvian patriots without any statesman of commanding influence, and led to a year of anarchy and civil strife in the ancient and extensive Viceroyalty of Peru, so that the powerful, compact armies of Spain descended from the lofty Andean plateaus, and swept everything before them, reoccupying Lima, the capital, and Callao, then the Gibraltar of the Pacific coast of South America. With such advantages, they menaced Argentina and Chile on the south, and Ecuador and Colombia on the north.

Bolivar, with that eagle glance which genius always possesses, perceived that only speedy and radical action could preserve and maintain the emancipation of South America. A commissioner in whom all parties and factions should have absolute confidence, could alone save the situation. There was but one man who possessed the necessary qualifications, and accordingly, he selected General Sucre as his special envoy to Peru.

Sucre, then, in 1823, at the age of twenty-eight, crossed the equator southward and entered, with a Colombian army, into Peru, the land of the ancient Indian Inca civilization. Peruvians of every shade of opinion welcomed him with an enthusiasm such as has rarely been accorded to any military commander, in either antiquity or modern times. His rare modesty and tact, lofty ideals of humanity, combined with a loving yet firm nature, and his spotless public and private integrity, smoothed over all difficulties. He also showed astonishing executive ability as a civil administrator and speedily converted the territory held

by the patriots of Peru into a compact, well-regulated, constitutional republic. This accomplished, and with a united nation back of him, he reorganized the Peruvian army, subjected it to severe yet salutary discipline, provided it with everything it required for the highest efficiency, and then rapidly marched against the Spaniards in Upper Peru, the most mountainous portion of that country, and gained several notable victories over them. He so well held his ground, in spite of the treason of certain trusted Peruvian officials, which caused him momentary reverses, that he was enabled, with the cordial approval of the Peruvian Congress itself, to invite the great Liberator Bolivar to come in person from Colombia to Lima, with several thousand reinforcements, during the summer of 1823.

With the arrival of Bolivar, who was immediately invested with dictatorial powers, as chief executive of Peru, the campaign against the royalists was renewed with increased vigor. On the 7th of August, 1824, he won the battle of Junin, in the central Andes of Peru, one of the most remarkable of all the great Liberator's victories, the royalist cavalry, hitherto regarded as invincible, fleeing in the utmost disorder, a result also largely due to the Peruvian cavalry, commanded by General John Miller, a British veteran who had served in Spain, under the Duke of Wellington, against the French armies of Emperor Napoleon I.

With this splendid achievement, the ground was prepared for the final campaign of Bolivar and Sucre against the Spaniards, who still possessed a powerful, thoroughly disciplined and equipped army of from ten to fifteen thousand men, largely encamped in what were regarded as the impregnable loftiest Andes mountain chains of Upper Peru.

We shall now consider, as briefly as possible, this campaign, which was to end, four months later, in the magnificent and epoch-marking victory of Ayacucho,

Peru, forever assuring the freedom and independence of the American continent, from the frozen Arctic down to the Straits of Magellan.

A glance at the map of South America, from the Isthmus of Panama on the north down to the northern boundary of Chile, following the Pacific coast down to latitude 25° south of the equator, shows that what are now the republics of Peru and Bolivia lie in the central portion of western South America. To the north of this vast territory, which is included within twenty degrees of latitude or 1,400 miles, are Ecuador, Colombia and Panama, and, to the south, Chile and Argentina. The western boundary is the Pacific ocean, and the eastern the immense imperial realm of Brazil. Here was a region of over a million square miles, for the possession of which the forces of Spain and her revolted South American colonists were to contend in a final life-and-death struggle.

The territory of these two adjoining republics is one of the most difficult in the world for military operations.* From northeast to southwest, several chains of the loftiest Andes skirt the Pacific slope, absorbing every drop of moisture from the atmosphere and leaving extensive arid deserts, not a particle of drinking water being obtainable unless it is distilled from the salt waves of the Pacific itself. With the exception of Callao and one or two minor ports, there are no good harbors. The Andes are widest towards Bolivia, where two gigantic ramifications meet and form the apex of an acute angle. There is nothing to relieve this desolate region of eternal snows, gloomy mountain slopes, frightful precipices and impetuous streams, liable to be swollen by torrential rains, save where an occasional fertile valley or plateau intervenes.

The actual theater of the four months' campaign of 1824, leading up to the battle

*A few Americans, who served with the armies of Peru and Chile, during the Chilo-Peruvian War of 1879, will vividly recall the hardships and difficulties of campaigning during the three years of that conflict.

of Ayacucho, covers an extent of 27,000 square miles. Roughly speaking, it may be described as a triangle in form, the apex being towards the south at the meeting point of the two towering ramifications of the Andes already referred to, and the base an imaginary straight line of three to four hundred miles, drawn from Cuzco, the ancient capital of the Inca Empire, to Ayacucho.

The two powers which were now to contend for the mastery of this territory were led by veteran generals thoroughly versed in the complicated art of war and commanding armies of seasoned and disciplined troops. On the South American patriot side were Bolivar, Sucre, Cordova, the Peruvian La Mar, and the gallant British General John Miller. Opposed to them on the Spanish side were the white-haired Viceroy of Peru La Serna, the dashing Cantarac, one of the most daring and resourceful cavalry raiders in history, and a number of other experienced officers who had fought in Spain against the French armies of Napoleon.

In the final struggle for supremacy, the chances were overwhelmingly in favor of the Spaniards. They were encamped in positions in the Andes of Upper Peru which were by nature well-nigh impregnable. Their army was ten thousand as compared with the six thousand of the South American patriots. They possessed superior artillery, an excellent, well-furnished commissary department, a complete knowledge of every inch of the territory in dispute, and valuable auxiliaries in the Indian tribes who were hostile to the patriots.

It was Bolivar's ardent desire to conduct, in person, the campaign against La Serna and the royalists. He reluctantly gave up all thought of doing so, on the urgent representations of General Sucre and other advisers, who besought him to content himself with maintaining in Lima and lower Peru an army of reserve, so that, in case the patriots were defeated disastrously, the magic name

of Bolivar might yet bring fresh legions into life to uphold the cause of freedom and independence in South America. The great liberator perceived the force of this reasoning, and commissioned Sucre to carry on the campaign against La Serna.

Three distinct phases mark the closing military operations of the fifteen years' Latin-American War for Independence.

First. The encampment of Sucre's army of liberation, from the beginning of October until the beginning of November, 1824, in the provinces of legendary Cuzco, Peru, on the banks of the Apurimac river, under a torrid, burning sun, with the enemy confronting them.

Secondly. Sucre's masterly retreat of three hundred miles from the Apurimac to the Andean heights of Huamanga, afterwards rechristened Ayacucho, accomplished in thirty days.

Thirdly. The Battle of Ayacucho, December 9, 1824.

In the first portion of the campaign, both Sucre and La Serna displayed the most consummate generalship. The aim of the latter was to wear out and destroy in detail his antagonist in a tropical wilderness and jungle. He planned clever ambushes, which only Sucre's unceasing watchfulness could avoid. He then made a wide sweep westward and northward, in the endeavor to place the Spanish army between Sucre and the western slopes of the Peruvian Andes, and thus cut him off from Bolivar. Knowing his ground, he marched with extraordinary rapidity, but Sucre quickly penetrated his design and speedily caught up with him, daringly crossing with his entire army a broad, impetuous river.

From this moment began the second portion of the campaign, lasting thirty days, which may perhaps best be described as a race over three hundred miles of tropical plains and forests and through the gloomy recesses of the frozen Andes to the heights of Huamanga or Ayacucho. In this marching, sometimes the two armies would come in

close contact, and then be separated by one hundred miles of wilderness and mountains. Sucre's humanity hampered him; he refused to follow the example of the Spanish cavalry general Cantarac, who killed off his wounded, sick and prisoners, in order to move faster. Sucre, however, never swerved from principle, and, if merciful, he possessed a daring genius which, on one occasion, impelled him to absent himself completely from his army, and for several days, attended by only a few sharpshooters, to intern himself into the deepest recesses of the Peruvian Andes where he made a personal reconnoissance of the enemy's position. When least expected, he returned to his army, whose sorrowing generals had given him up as captured or killed, and were on the point of selecting a new commander-in-chief. Only once did it happen that he was completely deceived by the movements of the Viceroy La Serna, and suffered a considerable reverse at the latter's hands, with the loss of all his artillery except one field-piece.

Sucre, however, knew the material out of which his soldiers were made, who went on for days, uncomplainingly, though often deprived of proper food, and who were not deterred by dark ravines, frightful precipices, and the indescribable horrors of campaigning in the highest and most difficult portion of the Andes.

At length, at the beginning of December, both armies reached the coveted village of Huamanga or Ayacucho, and Sucre had the satisfaction of finding La Serna and the royalists exactly where he wanted them, although the latter held the far more advantageous position, high up on the mountain crest of Condorcanqui. La Serna could now make only one of two moves: either to retreat southward whence he came, with the chances of demoralization and being cut to pieces, or else descend from his mountain eyrie and risk the hazard of an appeal to arms. He decided to choose the latter course, relying on the superiority of his forces,

ten thousand against the six thousand of the patriots, besides which he possessed an effective artillery of fourteen cannon against the single field-piece of Sucre's army.

Ayacucho, where, on the bright, cold morning of December 9, 1824, the future destiny of North as well as South America was to be decided, is an Andean plateau in Central Peru, twelve thousand feet above the level of the Pacific. It is a narrow district, the chief characteristics of which may be described as follows: On the south of this colossal amphitheater are the gloomy frozen and almost inaccessible heights of Condorcanqui, where the Spanish army lay securely encamped. At the foot of this natural fortress, extending from east to west as far as the Indian village of Quinua, lies the smiling, fertile plain of Ayacucho, watered by the river Pampas, a favored spot of perpetual spring in the southern tropics. Its dimensions are about a mile long from south to north, and half a mile wide. It is bounded by an extremely deep ravine on the north; another wholly impassable limits it on the south, while still a third rocky ravine crosses the plain, from north to south, in its greatest width. The towering heights of Condorcanqui dominate it completely, but possess one defect from a military point-of-view, namely, that a retreat southward and east to Cuzco is fraught with extreme danger and difficulty.

A word as to the derivation of the name Ayacucho. It means in the Quichua language of the Peruvian Inca Indians, *The Place of the Dead*, because at the time of the Spanish conquest, four centuries ago, a bloody battle was fought, which filled the plain with heaps of slain Indians. And now, at the close of 1824, the spot was to gain anew a grim significance.

As the sun gilded the peaks of the surrounding Andes, on the bright morning of December 9th, La Serna began the battle by arranging the disposition of his forces preparatory to a descent into the

plain of Ayacucho. At nine o'clock the first real shock of battle began when the Villabos division of five battalions of infantry, led by the Viceroy La Serna, descended from Condorcanqui into the plain and advanced towards the center, where their progress was momentarily stopped by the uneven ground and the river Pampas. Two of these royalist battalions effected a crossing, but were instantly confronted by four Colombian battalions of 2,100 men under the intrepid Cordova. Meanwhile, another Spanish infantry division, that of Monet, also of five battalions, had descended and deployed to the left of the battlefield. They were speedily checked by the patriot cavalry (780 men) under the British General Miller, and composed of veterans who had served in northern, central and southern South America, for fifteen years, under the Liberators Bolivar and San Martin.

This stage of the three hours' battle may be regarded as its crucial point. It was then that Sucre ordered Cordova and two regiments of cavalry to advance to the charge. The hostile bayonets crossed, and for some moments the issue was doubtful. Then the Colombian cavalry, headed by Colonel Silva, charged. The brave officer fell, covered with wounds but the intrepidity of the onset was irresistible. The royalists lost ground and were driven to the heights of Condorcanqui with great slaughter, and the Viceroy La Serna, severely wounded, was captured. This reverse appeared about to be retrieved when the Valdez division of four battalions of Spanish infantry, supported by two of cavalry and four field-pieces, opened a heavy fire on the patriot right, and compelled two divisions of Peruvian infantry to fall back. A Colombian battalion, sent to support the Peruvians, also began to give way. Two of the royalist battalions crossed the ravine and advanced in double quick time in pursuit of the retreating patriots. It was at this critical moment that General Miller led his cav-

alry against the victorious Spaniards, and by a timely charge drove them back across the ravine. The artillery of Valdez was taken; his cavalry retired; and his infantry dispersed.

The royalists had now, by noon, virtually lost the battle. They fled in disorder back to the gloomy towering heights of Condorcanqui, where the dauntless Cantarac strove to rally them, and actually succeeded in prolonging the conflict, with all its agony, until sunset, when the Spanish commander-in-chief sent a messenger to General Sucre to arrange the terms of surrender. The magnanimous conqueror treated the humbled foe with every consideration, attending to the wounds of the white-haired Viceroy La Serna, granting the officers all the honors of war, ordered Christian burial for the two thousand royalists slain, and instant liberty to four thousand prisoners, including fifteen general officers, with perfect freedom to return to Spain or remain as peaceful inhabitants in Peru, engaging in whatever occupation they chose. Nay, more, it was stipulated that the Peruvian government should defray the expenses of those returning to Spain. Rarely in history, and perhaps only in the case of the Confederates as dealt with by General Grant, at the close of the American Civil War, has such generous treatment ever been accorded to a beaten enemy.

The victory of General Sucre at Ayacucho was of international significance. In this decisive triumph for liberty on the American Continent, veterans participated who had fought in every portion of Spanish-speaking South America. "Among these devoted Americans," says General John Miller, in his *Memoirs*, "were a few foreigners, still firm and faithful to the cause in support of which so many of their countrymen had fallen. Among these few survivors were men who had fought on the banks of the

Guadiana and of the Rhine, who had witnessed the conflagration of Moscow and the capitulation of Paris. Such were the men assembled at what might be considered a fresh starting point of glory. Americans or Europeans, they were all animated by one sole spirit, that of assuring the political existence of a vast continent."

After the battle of Ayacucho, the victorious yet modest Sucre would have retired to private life, but he was called upon for six years longer to occupy the highest posts, among them, that of being, for two years (1826-1828) the first constitutional President of the newly-born Republic of Bolivia. He administered that country with an eye single to the public welfare, held himself strictly bound by the constitution, and conferred innumerable benefits on the grateful inhabitants he governed. Still more honors might have awaited him, had not a fatal destiny led him to retire to private life in 1830, and to travel, unguarded, save by a few faithful friends, through the dense tropical forests of Ecuador, on his way to rejoin his young wife, whom he worshiped, the Marchioness of Solanda. At a spot called Berruecos, on the 4th of June, he was foully assassinated by the bullets of an ambushed band of six bandits, evidently hired by his implacable private enemies who hated him as well as his bosom friend, the Liberator Bolivar. A strange fatality willed also that his remains could never afterwards be found, and that only one of the assassins, confessing the crime, should be executed nine years later.

Such, at the age of only thirty-five, was the tragic end of this saintly martyr, the Abraham Lincoln of Latin America, to whose memory the government of his native land Venezuela has consecrated, in her beautiful capital Caracas, a splendid sarcophagus. **FREDERIC M. NOA.**

Malden, Mass.

THE THAW-WHITE TRAGEDY.

BY HENRY FRANK.

WHAT IS the lesson in the Thaw-White tragedy for common-sense people and people of progressive ideals? Is there here any lesson at all for us; or shall we regard it as of no consequence to plain and sensible folk?

Thaw, a mere boy, reputed to be worth his forty millions—a worthless and vacuous-pated idler—a gilded fool—shoots down in cold blood a victim who is at once an intellectual genius and a whited sepulcher—a man of vast practical value to the world, but (if we are to believe the papers) a moral pervert, a lecherous degenerate, “procurer to the lords of hell”! And yet, he is so rich withal he leaves his wife, whom he is alleged to have faithlessly outraged, the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in life-insurance policies.

The only really startling feature of the tragedy—for murders to-day are so common they cease to be sensational—is that two men so well bred in what are called the social amenities, the niceties of good manners, so rich, so free from necessitous toil, of such enviable privileges, should, at the critical moment, reveal all the ferocity and bestialness of the grossest natures.

To those who live in what is supposed to be the under-world, the world of grinding poverty and corroding toil, the world where necessity invents deceit, theft, quarrelsomeness, and sometimes savage butchery, the flash of the pistol shot at Madison Square Roof Garden must have revealed a world of amazing familiarity, howbeit glossed with the dazzling splendence of the social upper-ten.

They learn from this revolting tragedy that riches are not the most to be coveted of all earth's blessings. They learn that the selfsame sort of monsters that haunt and horrify their own lives are to be found

likewise among those dowered with wealth, only they conceal them in closets, while the poor can ill afford to purchase coverings for their crimes.

The brute who has been begotten of coarse and carnal parentage learns in this deed that criminality is no less offensive in the public eye if perpetrated by a gold-garnished revolver than by a rusted iron horse-pistol.

But we who may live neither in the upper nor lower stratum of the social layers, but in the middle ledge, may learn from this mortal fray that everywhere the heart of man is the same, and the veneer of culture cannot remove its innate brutality, which some crisis calls to the surface.

But first and foremost we learn that what passes for “culture” in this artificial and pretentious age is the sheerest bluff—the most blatant hypocrisy.

Of what avail is the culture of a university product whose only intellectual asset is his capacity to spend the millions his worthy father left him?

Of what advantage are the polish and finish supposed to be acquired by a university training if it inspires nothing higher in its possessor than an ambition to entertain the painted beauties of the Parisian boulevards at a midnight carousal which cost him some fifty thousand shekels?

Of what avail the culture of a genteel idler—in common parlance “loafer”—if his highest achievement is to be infatuated by an abandoned girl who undertakes to drag the sinuosities of “tenderloin” fascinations and blandishments on to the much-abused theatrical stage, that she may catch in her snares the shallow-pated offspring of silly mothers who put in their hands elastic purse-strings that they may stretch indefinitely?

In short, the "culture" that presumes to elevate and refine the brain of a cad with Greek roots and the pompous eloquence of Cicero, and sends him adrift to disport himself as an intellectual dude and an educated fool, is an imposition on the age.

The culture that does not train its recipients to *do* something for the world, either with hand or foot or head, is a vain pretence whether it be Harvardesque, Princetonesque, or backwoodsque.

Had this university "Bottom" been taught the dignity of work while he was still an undergraduate, he would never have been crowned with the head of an ass by Parisian boulevardesque Titanias!

Thaw is a failure, a renegade, a degenerate, despite his manifold millions, because when his *alma mater* had the opportunity to make a man of him she could do no better than build him into an asinine biped.

And the reflection is not so much on Thaw as it is on the existing type of so-called education after which the young men are patterned who, if haply they are unfortunate enough to be born rich, attend our famous universities.

And White, the victim, presents no better preachment.

When death revealed the naked body of his sins, it was but a proof that genius of the highest order halts not often to make its bedfellows of the vilest moral vermin among mankind.

If there be anything baser and more irredeemably depraved than the lecherous degenerate who lures to his den innocent and erubescant maidenhood, to deflower it of its beauty and honor, human experience has not yet revealed it.

I do not mean by this to excuse the too-often knowing "innocence," that covers itself with the gown of chastity in order that it may blackmail its alleged abductor, and relieve his purse of its contents.

If White was that incarnation of iniquity and defilement that the papers paint him to have been, then he was but a human basilisk, the splendor of whose

charm blinded the innocent who fell into his embrace.

Of what avail, then, was the glory of his brain, the magnificence of his genius, the monumental resplendence of his achievements, if he had not learned to hold his passions in a leash—to save himself from the dry-rot disease of the degenerate?

Fie upon the feeble plea, that asserts we must gaze alone upon his physical and intellectual works, and shut our eyes at the moral rottenness of his character!

The matchless glory of Greece, Palmyra and Babylon shriveled and decayed beneath the deteriorating elements of ethical and social depravity that environed them.

The building of a character that can stand against the destruction of time is a greater work of genius than the most immortal triumph in art or literature or statesmanship.

However, the amazing and revolting tragedy in "high-life" teaches us perhaps above all things else the folly of the thing commonly called "love" for which men and women foolishly and too often lose their senses if not their lives.

True love is never associated with jealousy, hatred or vengeance. In self-defence a man may slay another; or in defence of the honor of a defenceless kin, as in the pathetic story of *Virginus*.

But such cases are rare, extremely rare. Mostly, love is romantic, neurotic, carnal, lustful. It is the offence and disgrace of our civilization. But it is true.

As society is at present constituted, every woman is forced to have her price; for she sells herself, under the strain of existing civilization, either into matrimonial bonds or open prostitution.

This is a hard saying; but it is true. How many young women to-day seek marriage for the sake of the glory and joy of the soul the union of two happy hearts creates? How many marry with the single desire of finding in another the soul-mate that shall make a spiritual paradise of the nuptial matings?

Do not most girls marry chiefly to escape the dreariness of a monotonous home-life, or to free their parents from the necessity of supporting them, or because of the implied disgrace of becoming an old maid?

The intensest pressure of all is the pressure of economic necessity. The girl, or the woman, to-day, is not possessed of the capacity, properly developed, or granted the opportunity, of making her own living as freely as the boy or man, or to live out her own independent aspirations and purposes as her male fellows can.

Therefore, she marries to get someone to earn her living for her, while she is not permitted to do it for herself.

Hence, she sells herself in marriage.

Here we put our finger on the sorest spot of civilization.

But I hear some stout defender of the present conditions shout derisively in reply: "Vain and vapid nonsense! Are there not thousands and thousands of girls and women actively engaged in the industrial world, who are making their own living, and who, therefore, if they marry, must marry for some other reason than you assert?"

Granted. They are employed. But at a *living wage*? Ay! There's the rub! Work; they do. But as *white slaves*; countless numbers of them forced to earn enough outside, by devious and discerning ways, to save their frail cadavers from the potter's field.

Evelyn Nesbit was a model. Alas! A physical, but how gross a moral model!

Her life but proves the necessities to which countless models of cloak and gown factories must stoop, if not the more Ariel-like models of the studios, to earn a sufficiency wherewith to keep the flesh clinging to their almost exposed skeletons.

Hers, it is true, was a life of wilful abandonment. Relaxing from the painful pose of an artist's demands, her gaze fell on the basilisk-eye of Stanford White, and for the nonce her fate was sealed.

But how many are there among the

toiling mass of women who are driven by gruesome necessity to court disdainfully what Evelyn Nesbit hugged so cheerfully!

Not until we learn that all alike we must be free in life, in industry, in privilege and opportunity, both men and women, to evolve the full and complete purpose of their own individualities, will society be void of the moral blemish of the opposite poles of economic indecency, namely, women who, on the one hand, are forced into hazardous marriage, and on the other are exploited in coerced prostitution.

Nevertheless, in the words of Hotspur: "A plague on both their houses!" Who cares whether Thaw was justified in slaying White, or whether White deserved the crashing bullets that sent him dishonorably to his untimely grave?

A plague on both their houses. For such as they are in their inner lives but a plague upon the world. They are all a "bad lot," these society queens, whose coruscating crowns of beauty overawe and defile the envious poor, and their lolling lords of idleness and leisure-wealth, who pose as custodians of good manners and ethical propriety.

Society rots as the trees from the top down. Enough, that the ornamental branches have already begun to reveal their decay. Let them be hewn off; let the moral vineyards be pruned, that the harvest be a vintage of purity and sweetness, and not venomous and destructive.

Let this tragedy teach us that we need a radical revolution in thought, in education, in culture, in economics, in the social order!

If this harrowing murder shall but assist in exposing the hypocrisy and internal degeneracy of those who pose as the true teachers of the race; if it will teach us that the theory of a Baer and a Parry in industrial economics is as false and vicious as the moral economics of the personnel in this tragedy enacted by auriphrygiate anarchists, it will mayhap have been enacted not in vain.

Coming at a time, and the climax, of a series of social eruptions and moral upheavals, it may but emphasize the atrocity and perverseness of our superficial and self-satisfied civilization.

Corruptionists and legislative blood-letters, insurance thieves and premium purloiners, frenzied financiers and kerosene capitalists, have all of late lent their lives to illuminate the enormity of our present moral misconceptions, and the disparity of social amenities in the existing order.

This savage, startling, sensational murder, is but a fitting climax. That pistol flash has at last laid bare the hollowness of "respectability," the indecency and purulent degeneracy of that class which should be the noblest and most exemplary because the most highly favored and carefully nurtured of the entire human family.

Thaw's madness is the reformer's opportunity *par excellence*!

HENRY FRANK.

New York City.

THE CAUSE AND CURE OF OUR MARINE DECAY.

BY WILLIAM W. BATES, N.A.

Ex-United States Commissioner of Navigation, President The Shipping Society of America.

IN COLONIAL times our forefathers comprehended commerce and knew the sailing ship full well. At first, supplies of all sorts had mainly to be imported by small British vessels. Many generations passed before "America" could feel even partially independent of the factories and the shipping of England. To keep our country dependent has always been a British idea. As no dependent country can be prosperous or wealthy to the full, the true American idea is *independence*—to rule ourselves, to supply our own wants, to build and sail our own vessels, transact our own commerce, and owe nothing to the world.

Forbidden to manufacture; at one time not allowed to carry cargoes to England, except in "sloops" (of 70 tons or less); restricted to British markets, mainly, the American colonies were exploited right and left. Generations lived and died as toilers for British predominance. British Tories were our merchants; British ships were our carriers with few exceptions. Export freights of tobacco took *one-third*, and of lumber, *one-half*, of the cargo. Import freights ranged from *fifteen to forty* per cent. of

the cost of the goods. This state argued the importance of manufacturing and navigation; for it could be seen that, if these industries, besides farming, were carried on by our own people, our country could not help getting rich.

The day came when relations with Great Britain had to be broken off. The War of the Revolution compelled our people to help themselves in many ways—to diversify employments and furnish their own supplies; and, especially, to trade more and more between the States. This, together with fishing and privateering, called for the use of shipping. The advent of peace found the country prepared to consider the *sea*, as well as the *land*, an arena for enterprise and the pursuit of wealth. Having attained political independence, it was seen, more clearly than ever before, that navigation and commerce must cut a large figure in American business, ere there should be *industrial independence*. The British had a maxim that the control of trade and transportation was a means of ruling the world. They made a treaty of "peace," but refused to make one of *commerce and navigation*, with the "Uni-

ted States of America"—such as France, Holland, and Sweden cheerfully gave us; and down to the present day *have not done so*. They meant to get back the carriage of our commerce, and thus regain the control of our external business, and one day to be in position to resume their rule of the "States"—one or more—which had been their "rebel" colonies.

AMERICAN SHIPPING A NECESSITY.

Thrown upon our own resources, whither could we trade? With shipping of our own, the world was open to us. Without our own marine, we could not command a single market. The British intended to have our trade; but, under their navigation act (1651-60), their ports were not open to the ships of any country of America (Asia or Africa). Our ports would, logically, before long, be closed to British vessels, unless ours were admitted reciprocally. In 1783, the King issued a proclamation opening to us the *home* ports, but closing all in the loyal Provinces and the West Indies. Into these harbors, the vessels of our rival flag could not venture on penalty of confiscation. We could not land a box of herring from a boat. British ships would kindly bring our imports—all of them—and take away our exports—some of them—no others should. Thus considerable of "Yankee" trade would be grasped and held by our covetous "kith and kin." (Of our rights in this trade, the British deprived us unjustly until 1830, when we passed a special act for them.)

To meet the situation, the Confederate Congress asked the several States for leave to enact and enforce *regulations of commerce*, calculated to encourage the shipping of all the States, and to protect it from imposition of all kinds by foreign nations. This authority was not fully given, but the States, themselves, set about the work. Discriminating duties, both of *tonnage* and of *tariff*, were resorted to. We had a dozen different

sets of "navigation laws"—all aiming to protect against foreign shipping, but acting also against the vessels of the several States—making it very important to regulate commerce "among the States," as well as "with foreign countries." While little good was accomplished, the plan of every State protecting its own vessel-interest—an interest that was of general concern—soon condemned itself. But our experience paid. It demonstrated to the country the absolute need of national law on the subject; and thus *the protection of shipping* became recognized as one of the principal factors in the "closer union," which followed the founding of the Federal Government.

PROPER PROTECTION FOR AMERICAN SHIPPING.

General Washington, in his letter transmitting the Constitution to the Continental Congress, observed:

"The friends of our country have long seen and desired that the power of making war, peace, and treaties, that of levying money and *regulating commerce*, and the corresponding executive and judicial authorities, should be fully and effectually vested in the general Government of the Union."

One of the five principal objects of the Constitution thus declared to be the regulation of our foreign and domestic trade—in other words, the establishment of a system of protective "navigation laws"—it was natural that in the Convention, this sentiment should be general. Some have supposed that the extreme Southern States, having but a scanty shipping, took no interest in provisions for a merchant marine. This is a mistake. Mr. Charles Pinckney's plan for a Constitution had a clause for the *regulation of commerce*; and Mr. Rutledge, in a speech, "reminded the House of the *necessity* of securing the West India trade to this country, . . . and a navigation act was *necessary* for obtaining it." These dele-

gates were from South Carolina. The only question was whether a two-thirds' vote should be required for the passage of shipping acts. Against this point, Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts, thus closed the debate:

"If the Government is to be so fettered as to be unable to relieve the Eastern States, what motive can they have to join it, and thereby tie their own hands from measures which they could otherwise take for themselves? The Eastern States were not led to strengthen the Union by fear for their own safety. He deprecated the consequences of disunion, but if it should take place, it was the Southern part of the continent that had the most reason to dread them. He urged the improbability of a combination against the interest of the Southern States, the different situations of the Northern and Middle States being a security against it. It was, moreover, certain that foreign ships would never be altogether excluded, especially those of nations in treaty with us."

The motion for striking out the section of the report, requiring two-thirds of each House to pass a navigation act, "was agreed to, *nem. con.*"

THE COMPACT FOR NAVIGATION LAWS.

In pursuance of this vote, clause 3 of section 8 of Article I. of the Constitution, empowers Congress—

"To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."

Thus, we have the solemn guarantee of ship protection, by navigation laws, in the Constitutional compact, that established the existence and function of Congress itself. We have more. From the debate it is clear that this "enumerated power"—(clause 3)—was *one of the bonds and conditions of the Union*. Without its insertion in the Constitution, that instrument would not have been

adopted. Massachusetts had most shipping, but Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland and Virginia had respectable fleets under protection of local navigation laws, which would have to be given up. In fact, clause 2 of section 10 of Article I. provides that "no State shall . . . lay any impost or duties on imports or exports." And clause 3 of said section and Article provides that "no State shall . . . lay any duty of tonnage." Thus, in consideration of the promise to enact and maintain protective navigation laws each of the States gave up its power to protect its shipping by discriminating tonnage or tariff duties. In other words, the general Government *took over the encouragement and protection of an American marine*.

There is ample evidence that no little of the popularity of the Constitution resulted from the shipping engagement. When the adoption of the Constitution was before the country, an orator of Pennsylvania held this argument:

"Every person must long since have seen the necessity of placing the exclusive power of *regulating the commerce* of America in the same body—without this it is impossible to *regulate* their trade. The same imposts, duties, and customs must equally prevail overall. . . . Whence comes it that the trade of this state, which abounds with materials for ship-building, is carried on in foreign bottoms? Whence comes it that shoes, boots, made-up clothes, hats, nails, sheet-iron, hinges, and all other utensils of iron, are of British manufacture? Whence comes it that Spain can regulate our flour market? These evils proceed from a want of one supreme controlling power in these States. They will all be done away with by adopting the present form of government. It will have energy and power to *regulate your trade* and commerce—to enforce the execution of your imposts, duties, and customs. Instead of the trade of this country being carried on in foreign bottoms, *our ports will be crowded with*

our own ships, and we shall become the carriers of Europe. Heavy duties will be paid on all foreign articles which can be manufactured in this country, and bounties will be granted on the exportation (?) of our commodities; the manufactories will lift up their heads and rise to opulence and wealth."

RATIFICATION OF THE SHIPPING COMPACT.

James Madison has been called the "Father of the Constitution." He kept a private record of the debates of the Convention. With Alexander Hamilton, he shaped and arranged the provisions of the Constitution; and as leader in the House of Representatives, he offered the original measure for ship encouragement and protection—a *heavy discriminating tonnage duty*, calculated to favor the up-building of an *American marine*. The very first revenue act contained tariff discriminations in aid of tonnage duties, and a complete protective system was evolved in the course of time, thus *ratifying and honoring* the work of the Constitutional Convention. By the close of Washington's administration, the percentage of our carriage in our own commerce had risen from less than 25 per cent. to over 90. It became the talk of the country, that our successful navigation was the "child of protection."

In a pro-tariff speech in 1828, *James Buchanan* declared that "no interest belonging to this or any other country ever received a more continued or a more efficient protection than the navigation of the United States. I heartily approve this policy. I would not, if I could, withdraw from it an atom of the protection which it now enjoys." . . . "What, Sir, was the object of this legislative protection upon our tonnage and navigation? Let *Mr. Pitkin* and *Dr. Seybert* answer this question. *Mr. Pitkin*, in his *View*, declares that 'these extra charges on navigation and commerce of foreign nations, were sufficient to drive from our ports the greatest proportion of the for-

eign tonnage. All foreign nations were affected by the system we had adopted in favor of the shipowners in the United States. The diminution of the foreign tonnage employed in our trade was, with very few exceptions, rapid, regular, and permanent.' *Dr. Seybert*, in his *Statistical Annals*, bears the same testimony. He states that, 'our discriminations operated powerfully in favor of our shipping. . . . All foreign nations were affected by the system we had adopted—it seemed to operate like magic in favor of the shipowners of the United States.' " (1817-19.)

VIOLATION OF THE SHIPPING COMPACT.

As previously stated, the ports of the British West Indies were closed to our shipping. In 1818, our ports were closed to all vessels coming from ports or places not open to ours. By this *regulation* Congress intended to cause the British to respect our rights—if they received our products, to allow our vessels to take them. In 1820, a supplementary act was passed to meet a dodge of our adversary. The contest went into diplomacy, and into Parliament. In 1823, Norway passed an ordinance, and proposed, if we would meet it, to permit our vessels to enter Norwegian ports with cargoes from all the ports of the world—Norwegian vessels to be conceded a reciprocal privilege. Congress refused, it being then the law that foreign vessels could come from *home ports only*, this being found an *essential protection*. The British borrowed the idea of reciprocation and applied it to the West India dispute. Parliament enacted, in 1825, if we would admit British vessels with cargoes from all the ports of the world, then the King would open to our vessels certain ports of the West Indies, in *direct trade*. This proposition, so unfair as to be unvalued, was refused by Congress. Imagining that, if Congress would enact a measure honestly and fully reciprocal, the British ministry would accept it, and close the

controversy, the President, John Quincy Adams, urged Congress strongly to pass a bill, which became law in May, 1828, offering complete reciprocity to any country that would accept the principle of an open trade for vessels and cargoes from all parts of the world, *no protective duties of tonnage or of tariff* to exist on either side—nothing said about protective devices. It was an offer to all nations, but in particular to Great Britain, to suspend or do away with *ship* protection. It was argued that our vessels no longer needed protection, while Great Britain had so much advantage in her commercial relations everywhere, it was thought she would jump at the proposition, and Mr. Adams would go down in history as a masterly statesman—with Henry Clay. But Britain kept out of the trap for twenty one years, and until it was certain that the new policy suited her exactly, and was *damaging*, and would ultimately *ruin* the marine of the United States.

At this time, 1849, eighteen countries had made reciprocity conventions, and our percentage of carriage in our own commerce had fallen as follows:

1827, import carriage, 94.3; export carriage, 87.5
1849, " " 81.4; " " 68.9

BRITISH STATESMEN TAKE ADVANTAGE.

From these figures any one could see that the loss of our carrying trade was plainly indicated. David Ricardo pointed out in Parliament that the *indirect* voyages of ships paid the best, and England was losing much profitable business by not accepting the principle of our act of 1828. British merchants were established in every port of the world, and, if they made shipments to the United States from non-British ports, they were obliged to freight American vessels. So the British "navigation act" was "reformed," we reciprocated, and with the following immediate results to our carriage in our own commerce:

1849,	import carriage,	81.4;	export carriage,	68.9
1850,	" "	77.8;	" "	65.5
1851,	" "	75.6;	" "	69.8
1852,	" "	74.5;	" "	66.6
1853,	" "	71.5;	" "	67.1
1857,	" "	71.8;	" "	60.2
1861,	" "	60.0;	" "	72.1

In four years our loss of import carriage was *ten per cent.*; in *twelve* years (before the war) it was *over twenty-one per cent.* Some uninformed people say: "Oh, yes, British iron tonnage played the mischief with our wooden ships." But any one can see, it was no merit of iron or demerit of wood that won or lost the contest. It was the senseless statesmanship of the Act of May, 1828, on the one hand, and the shrewd generalship of men like Ricardo, on the other, that held our government up for the world's derision. And now, the suffering of forty years finds the brains of legislators so dense that no one can feel assured that a *thorough cure* for our shipping malady will *ever* be administered. For, notwithstanding the tentative character of our act suspending—not repealing—our original policy, it is proposed by the party in power to abandon constitutional principles, old land-marks, solemn compacts, and successful precedents, and adopt unrepugnant and un-American measures—a policy of *gift and graft*.

Our "maritime reciprocity" conventions—(we have none with Great Britain for *indirect* trade)—provide for termination on a year's notice by either party. We are the only nation continuing these conventions at a sacrifice of its marine. We are the only nation honestly observing their spirit as well as letter. No nation is openly asking us to continue the "reciprocity" system for its benefit. An unmistakable reason for wanting the new-fangled policy is private interest, not the public good; selfish considerations, not the national welfare. In plain words, the Republican platforms of 1896 and the work of its candidate, favored returning to regulations of commerce, but after the election an influence ap-

peared that dictated a "subsidy" policy in lieu of the discriminating-duty plan, publicly promised before election. Ten years of delay—precious time taken from our own people and given to foreigners—have supervened, Congress trying meanwhile to please, not the convention delegates and voters of the country, but the appreciated people that furnished campaign contributions for the defeating of "Bryan and silver." A policy thus introduced cannot be good.

SUBVENTION AND ITS COSTLINESS.

It is pretended that a "subvention" or gift system will bring forth and maintain an adequate marine in a way quite pleasing to our rivals. *If it will make good, will it not cost more than our taxpayers will consent to spend?* It is no answer to allege that our country is rich and our people *can afford* the expense. The maritime States of our Union were promised a *special sort* of ship protection, which history proves was satisfactorily effective, and which *cost nothing*. Besides this, *that promise and agreement are the only grounds for the action of Congress*; for the shipping trade cannot say to all other occupations: "Put your hands into your pockets, and support me," and have the country pay attention to it. The "Hanna-Payne" bill, 1898, did thus lift up its voice, but its day soon passed. It mattered not to its sponsors and expectant beneficiaries that the will of the people was *adverse*; they wanted "aid" from the Treasury by fair means or *foul*. They pointed to the ability of the country to stand the drain as sufficient answer to all objections, while this fact should cut no figure at all. The prospect of expenditure killed the bill.

Let us now inquire the cost of the pending plan. Taking an adequate marine at 7,000,000 tons, at \$5 per ton, the "subvention" would be \$35,000,000 annually. Adding for mail lines, we might have about *forty millions* annually for entire marine in foreign trade. In two

and a half years this would amount to \$100,000,000; in twenty-five years, to \$1,000,000,000; in a century, to *four billions of dollars*! Ship protection must be *perpetual*. An end to the system at any time will put an end to growth; decline will come, and ruin follow. Would there be any wisdom in establishing this system, for a *while*, even if it worked admirably? The first war of any consequence with a rival would cause suspension of the subvention for years, and make an end of it, with ruin to the shipping interest, and waste of millions to the Government.

But, say the advocates of this scheme, less than \$10,000,000 will be required for subvention in any year. This sum would pay owners of 2,000,000 tons only. We had over that registered as in foreign trade in 1854. In 1860, we had 2,379,396 tons—requiring \$11,896,980—engaged in carrying an export and import commerce of \$507,247,757. In 1905, our foreign commerce amounted to 2,636,074,349 tons. Two millions of tons would carry less than 20 per cent. of it. Any one may note, that subvention advocates are either underestimating the *efficiency* of their system, or calculating that it will ease the passage of the bill to hoodwink Congress and the country as to annual expenditure; or acknowledging that the method will not make good to the extent of a proportionate carriage of 70 to 80 per cent. of our own commerce, and a consequent expenditure of *thirty-five to forty* millions of dollars. If it is to prove of little efficacy, then it will not be worth enacting. On the other hand, if the system operates effectually, its cost alone should prevent its adoption—as a source of evil, without a justification under the Constitution.

THE CHARACTER OF THE SCHEME.

There is no denying the fact that the character of the scheme is plutocratic, whereas the constitutional plan is democratic. The President says, we are not

to be ruled by "plutocrats," but he should have a care, for he seems partly converted to their shipping remedy, notwithstanding its unconstitutionality; its irrelation to the cause of disablement; its want of adaptation and of power; its cost if successful; and in spite of the fact that its adoption would make permanent a pernicious change in our Constitution; would endorse and ratify its violation in 1828; and virtually says to foreign nations, "You may have and enjoy our commerce and navigation if you please—all we will do about it is to operate a gift policy, and let it go at that. No regulations shall incommode you, we will cut out that part of our Constitution for the love of liberal government."

Is this a proper attitude for the head of the Government of the United States? We can imagine the people of the maritime States responding: "Mr. President, we ask for *upright dealing* on the part of the Federal Government; we entered the Union under a *compact* for ship protection by the regulation of commerce; we have observed our part of this compact, by surrendering our right to make regulations for ourselves and turning the matter over to the nation; but in violation of this compact and of our *sacred right*, the Government, in 1828, suspended our lawful ship protection, and has since allowed our marine to be ruined for want of it, our carrying trade going to our rivals. Take notice, Mr. President, that *now, and henceforth*, we demand our constitutional rights; we insist on 'navigation laws,' proper and effectual. The proposal to pay subvention money is a snare and delusion, and an imposition upon the taxpayers. Do us *justice*, Mr. President, or resign the chair of Washington." Does any one think the people will not say "Amen!" to this accusation?

THE INUTILITY OF SHIP SUBVENTION.

The theory of a subvention system is that the freights of the world go to the

lowest bidders. This is now far from being true. It is nearer the truth to say that *preference* rules engagements. Suppose the subvention enables an American ship to compete in rates as low as any other, then, unless she have the *preference*, the owner or underwriter of cargo, controls the choice of vessel. A British owner of cargo, or a British underwriter, prefers the British ship; and so of other nationalities. All the subvention can accomplish in such a case is to put the American ship on the freight market. But she cannot exist on subvention, and must have work to do. Nor can she use her subvention to underbid her rivals, for she must have that to compensate her economic disability, according to theory.

Suppose, on the other hand, an American ship was in an Argentine or Brazilian port, and our commerce was *regulated*, as prior to 1828, so that only Argentine, Brazilian or American ships could bring cargoes from those countries; or we had a protection by tonnage duties so that British and other foreign ships would be limited in their competition with ours in such cases; then, practically, all foreign competition would be with the vessels of Argentine or Brazil, as the case might be. Our ship, thus having a fair chance, would then get work, as of old, without cost to the people.

As the world's freighting stands to-day, in every port there is a "combine" or "ring" that has secured all the business, either by *rebate*, or "chartered ahead," or long-time contracts; and outsiders of whatever flag have no chance to compete. What can subvention do in such cases? Really, the freight market is *only nominally* open. Proper regulations of trade would break up all combinations and rings formed to control transportation, by closing these markets. Subvention with *prayers* can do nothing towards this work. Indeed, these be the days of contracts in the commercial world. All the exports of any country may be contracted for by merchants—British

mainly—owning the tonnage to carry the merchandise to its various markets. What chance will there be in a struggle for freights under these conditions by the subventioned American ship? About as much chance as a hawk has to subsist by picking the talons of an eagle.

If the freights belonging to our vessels shall not be regulated into them, as in our coastwise, lake, and river service, we have now nearly as much of a sea-going marine as we shall ever obtain. Concerns like the Standard Oil, or the Sugar-Trust, or a few transcontinental railroads, will be the principal beneficiaries of a subvention system, as they are situated to furnish or command employment for their vessels. But it is not for concerns like these that the Government should go out of its way to "aid" from the Treasury. A sufficiency of postal lines should form a part of the marine, but with the foregoing we would not have *one-fifth* of an adequate capacity.

THE SUPREME QUESTION.

So it comes to this, there will be no adequate marine until the Government of the United States takes up again *the specific performance of its compact with the people*. Foreign shipping is now carrying 93 per cent. of our commerce—last year amounting to \$2,636,074,349. A high British authority, M. G. Mulhall, estimates average sea-freights at 8

per cent. of value of goods. This would make our freight-bill \$210,885,951, and the amount paid foreign shipping \$196,123,934. The subvention bill would not reduce this drain to any extent. Talk about "reduction of the tariff"—until we have an adequate marine, only the tariff maintains our balance of commerce, by keeping out the flood of imports, that would quickly destroy all our boasted "prosperity." While we carried more than two-thirds of our commerce, we could import beyond our export mark, *now we cannot with safety*. It takes over *four hundred millions* annually to balance our commerce—in exports or money. This measures the penalty that our country must pay for the disgraceful *dependency* induced by bad faith on the part of our Government—violating its solemn compact to protect our shipping and continuing a ruinous unprotective policy—in the interest of foreign nations. Ever since the Civil war, we have stood where we stand to-day, in dependency and peril, knowing not the time when a movement of the nations may bring disaster and dismay, solely for the want of a merchant marine of our own, and held to this hazard simply because our servants of the House and Senate will not repair a breach of compact with their own people. Americans! *the supreme question is, WHAT SHALL WE DO ABOUT IT?*

WILLIAM W. BATES.

Denver, Colo.

STOCK-GAMBLERS AS MANAGERS OF RAILROADS.

BY STEPHEN H. ALLEN.

THE INEFFICIENT management and unjust discriminations of great railroad corporations are the natural results of rulership by a small coterie of stock-gamblers, who by operations in Wall street have become the holders of controlling interests in the companies.

These men are not skilled in the business of conducting or operating railroads, but in the art of stock-gambling. Their vast wealth has not come to them as a reward for meritorious service in managing the transportation of the country. but through ability to forecast the fluctuations in the

prices of stocks and to make others believe that prices are about to fall when they in fact will rise or will rise when a decline is coming. There is not a leading railroad magnate in this country who can make even a plausible claim to having earned his millions. All have derived their vast wealth either through their own speculations or by inheritance of the winnings of ancestors. Gamblers study their calling and become expert in it. Wall street is a school which has developed the most expert manipulators of the stock market, and most of the multimillionaires who now have controlling interests in the great thoroughfares of the country are post-graduates of it. They are not educated to build and manage railroads or transact any other legitimate business, but to acquire stocks and obtain proxies.

The widespread demoralization of the passenger and freight service, now painfully apparent throughout the whole country, the wholly inexcusable destruction of life by train disasters, and the corrupt discriminations by which some shippers are enriched and others impoverished, are the legitimate fruits of a system through which gamblers dictate the policies of the railroad companies.

The people interested in railroads may be divided into three classes: 1. The owners; 2. The operators; 3. The patrons. In power they rank in the order given, but in numbers and importance they rank in inverse order to that stated.

The owners, though least in numbers, are the rulers. The great manipulators of the stock market control the elections and choose for directors men who will be subservient to their interests. All the man who invests his savings usually does is to give his proxy to some prominent stock-gambler.

The operators are mere employés of the company, who earn their daily bread in its service and greatly outnumber the owners. They are vitally interested in everything pertaining to safety of operation, but have no voice whatever in the

selection of the managing board or chief officers. Through their various organizations they exert some influence on the management in matters affecting their wages and the conditions of their employment, but none in other respects, and this much only because they are an essential part of the machinery.

The patrons, the great public, for whose accommodation the corporations are allowed to exist and operate railroads, have no voice whatever in the election of the board of directors or the selection of officers or employés of any grade. The board of directors holds the governing power in the corporation. The men it designates for the purpose, fix the rates to be charged for all services, determine the number and manner of operation of the trains, the location of all depots and other conveniences and everything else of any importance to the public. The living law-making and law-enforcing power resides in the management of the railroad companies, not in the general public as is fondly imagined by some. There is an old theory that the law is superior to the rules made under the authority of the board, and that all charges made by a common carrier for the transportation of person or property must be reasonable, but like many other old theories it is essentially obsolete.

Railroad companies are not often greatly concerned with the election of other than judicial and legislative officers. They take an interest in members of congress and the state legislatures; generally greater in the senators than the representatives, because the number is less and the term of office usually longer.

The pivot on which the public force of the country turns, so far as it affects railroad interests, is the United States Senate. When a legislature is about to elect a senator the tug-of-war comes and the railroad lobby, acting under the direction of its shrewdest schemers, combines on its candidate and exerts whatever influence appears likely to be most efficient to secure the choice of its man. It is responsible for most of the corruption which

has so scandalized the state legislatures. Having secured a majority of the United States Senate, either before or after election, it is secure against regulation by federal law.

This, however, is not the only, nor even the chief advantage gained. Federal judges are appointed by the President, "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," and when once in office hold for life. With the aid of the senators from a state where a vacancy occurs, the railroads usually find no difficulty in procuring the appointment of the man of their choice. Here the utmost vigilance is used by their law departments. It is of vital importance that their man be named, and no stone is left unturned to gain the result. They alone of all the people are alert and vigilant in the matter. They appreciate its importance to them, while the general public leave their interests to the care of the President and the politicians, without giving them any impulse in opposition to the railroad influences. Having their fast friends on the federal benches they have little to fear from Congress or the legislatures. Laws duly enacted by the bodies named by the people to make laws may be "unconstitutional." They are so if the courts say they are, and a court so selected will say so whenever they seriously affect the interests of the great gamblers to whose underlings the judges owe their places. The federal courts can and do annul substantially all acts of the legislatures of the states which affect the revenues of great corporations. There has as yet been no occasion to annul any act of congress attempting to regulate transportation charges, for none has been passed. The interstate commerce law, designed to give a commission power to correct some abuses, has been emasculated by the constructions placed on it by the federal courts. Through either a declaration that an act is unconstitutional or a construction taking the vitality out of it, the court can easily defeat any law. The great railroad corporations, through the influence they exert on leg-

islatures, congress and courts, come much nearer ruling the people than the people do to making laws for them.

If railroad stocks represented merely the savings from honest industry, and railroad directors were fair representatives of a great number of citizens who had contributed their means to build the roads, there would be a better basis for the exercise of their authority. But the fact is that most boards of directors are made up in great part of lawyers and other favorites and dependents of the chief gamblers who control a majority of the stock. When the interests of the masters require an alternation of favorable and unfavorable showings of results from operation to raise and depress the prices of stocks, boards of directors must be made up of men who are not too deeply interested in efficient management, but understand also the opportunities afforded by disaster. So it has happened and is the fact that very many men sit on boards of directors who have no stock or interest in the company worth mentioning, no knowledge of the practical operation of railroads and no real manhood leading them to insist on good service and just dealings with the public. So long as great gamblers name the governing bodies of the railroads so long they will follow gamblers' standards of morality.

No one need hope for substantial reform till an element of society having higher moral standards names the directors and dictates the policies of the railroad companies. With the United States Senate made up in large part of men possessed of ill-gotten millions and purchased seats, and federal courts constantly recruited from the law departments of the railroad companies or their special friends, the schemes of gamblers and monopolists will continue to prosper in spite of public sentiment and legislative attempts at regulation. There can be no permanent or effectual remedy without dethroning the gamblers.

STEPHEN H. ALLEN.

Topeka, Kansas.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND THE LIQUOR PROBLEM.

BY PHILIP RAPPAPORT.

IF EVER any effort has been made by any temperance organization to find the connection between inebriety and social economic conditions, and to treat the former as a symptom of the latter and not as a phenomenon of itself, such an effort has remained unknown to me. And yet, it seems to me that all attempts to suppress habitual drunkenness must be futile unless the social conditions surrounding the great mass of the working population are improved. More than that, it seems to me that the improvement of the conditions of the working-classes would be the only reasonable and effective temperance reform.

The temperance question is preëminently an economic question. It is part and parcel of the great social problem of a proper distribution of the products of the labor of human society, and there is no solution outside of the solution of the great general social problem.

In a little book of Bishop Henry C. Potter, entitled *The Drink Problem in Modern Life*, I find the following wise words:

"We progress steadily and splendidly in the fertility of our inventions; but, as the cleverness and adroitness of machinery rises, the demands upon the cleverness and adroitness of the workman diminish. And yet they cannot diminish without leaving his task more circumscribed, more mechanical, and more monotonous. Do we know how mechanical and monotonous, at last, it may become, and do we know what a mechanical monotony at length takes out of a man? For, until we do, we are in no position to judge our brother, who, at the end of his day's tasks, turns to stimulants or narcotics which to us may be abhorrent. His home and yours—have you ever compared them?

His leisure and yours, his environment and yours, his food and the conditions of its preparation, his recreations, companionships—in one word, his resources and yours—do you know, not how like, but how utterly unlike they are? And yet, when you talk to this brother man, you are surprised, it may be, to find in him tastes and sympathies and aspirations not unlike your own! What chance have they, and what warrant have you and I, for criticisms, behind which has been no single effort to better the habits which they assail, or the conditions out of which those habits have sprung?"

The poor man or woman whose earnings are too meager to provide sufficient food, and who tries to cheat nature by the attempt to draw strength from the use of alcoholic stimulants, is the victim of our economic conditions.

The squalid home, be it in a miserable shanty or in a filth-reeking tenement-house, from which the poor laborer flees to the saloon to seek warmth and light, recreation and companionship, is the product of economic conditions prevailing in human society.

The meager education of the laborer, his bad habits and his want of manners, his coarseness and brutality are the result of a system which drives children into the factory and into environments which injure their young impressive souls. The child is deprived of a better education, and the foundation is laid upon which the future drunkard grows. A brute is created who commits excesses, when drunk. Drinking, even excessive drinking, does not make a man a brute who is not already one. It only makes him act as a brute, by taking from him the power of self-control.

If a laboring man should happen to

lose his job, and if, as sometimes happens, he searches in vain for weeks or months for another, so that at last despair seizes upon him, or if, in moments of loneliness, he should think of his future, and the entire hopelessness of his condition should dawn upon him, if then in his despair he should take recourse to drink, who is to blame for it? Is not the cause for his efforts to drown his sorrows in drink in our economic conditions?

Nobody has a right to judge the drunkard who is unable to read in his soul. With the exception of comparatively few cases of heredity, the drunkard is the victim of economic social conditions, and where the vice is one of heredity, the ancestor was the victim.

Sometimes poverty is the result of habitual drunkenness, but such cases are individual. As a social factor, poverty is a cause of habitual drunkenness, and it is the cause in probably ninety cases of a hundred.

Yet, in an age in which the inventive genius of man has created such facilities of production that the productive power of man has increased, twenty, fifty or a hundred fold, and has far outgrown his natural power of consumption, poverty is a social crime.

There are also rich drunkards, of course, but as a result their families do not suffer from want of the necessities of life. The cause, however, may also be ascribed to economic conditions. For a life of idleness and affluence easily leads to dissipation. So does the life of a gambler, and a large part of modern business is nothing but gambling.

To meet such conditions with prohibitory laws is the height of absurdity. The theory of prohibition is born of ignorance and short-sightedness. Ignorance is creative of fanaticism. Knowledge never creates fanatics, but it creates liberation of thought, broad-mindedness and a thirst for more knowledge and tolerance.

The absurdity of prohibition becomes so much more apparent, when we reflect

that it affects millions of good people who have a natural desire for a light alcoholic stimulant, such as beer or wine, it being as cheering and harmless to them as the cup of tea or coffee to the woman leading a temperance crusade. Why should one drink tea or coffee, if they were not cheering, exhilarating, stimulating? It cannot be said of them, as of wine or beer, that they contain some nutritious elements, but their active principle is poison as surely as alcohol. They must be used with moderation or they become injurious. And there are, beyond question, many men who exercise in their occasional, or even daily use of light alcoholic drinks more moderation than many a woman in her habitual use of tea or coffee.

Moderation is an attribute of culture. Just as the cultural progress of society would have been impossible without material progress, so is individual culture impossible without the possession of the necessities and comforts of life in a degree which allows ample time for study, education, leisure and the creation of pleasant surroundings. Intellectual culture creates moderation, but prohibition never. Culture creates moderation, not only in the use of stimulants, but in everything else. Moderation and refinement are pretty much the same. Poverty never creates them, but on the contrary kills them where they exist.

There is only one reliable, radical temperance measure, and that is the betterment of the economic condition of the masses, brought about by a change of the economic system which makes extreme wealth and extreme poverty equally impossible, and secures a distribution of the products of human industry in a manner more just than the present.

Material changes in social systems, however, coming only gradually, and being only the result of a slow process of development, and all our prohibitive and coercive legislation, having not only proven futile, but injurious to public and private morals, the question natu-

rally arises: Can nothing at all be done by legislation toward the elimination or, at least, the decrease of inebriety? An answer to this question has been given about twenty years ago by the government of the Swiss Republic. It appointed a commission to investigate the liquor traffic. The commission, in connection with the Swiss Federal Bureau of Statistics, instituted an exhaustive inquiry, extending it over all civilized countries, and laid down the knowledge and experience gained in a very voluminous report. It was certainly the most earnest and exhaustive investigation of the subject ever undertaken. The commission stated as a fact that it had found the evil effects of alcoholism most prevalent in the localities where the number of drinking places was smallest, and as a conclusion that the reduction of the number of drinking-places tended not to a restriction of the consumption of ardent spirits, but that, on the contrary, tipping at home and the use of strong drink in place of light drinks were generally the result of reducing the number of conveniently-located drinking-places.

From the report of the commission the government evolved the following principles for liquor legislation as the only ones which promise wholesome effects:

1. Taxation ranks foremost among the measures calculated to restrict the

excessive use of ardent spirits. They should be taxed at as high a rate as is compatible with revenue considerations and the possibility of collecting the tax.

2. A systematic diminution and the ultimate abolition of taxes upon wholesome beverages, in which the percentage of alcohol is small, as in light wines and malt beverages.

3. The suppression of technically imperfect distillation, and governmental supervision to prevent adulteration.

Swiss legislation has since been based upon these principles, and they are surely more democratic and more in consonance with human nature than the theories of our well-meaning but overzealous, because misinformed, prohibition enthusiasts.

A society which produces multi-millionaires and paupers with all that these terms import, will produce inebriates with the same certainty with which it produces thieves, grafters and gamblers.

I venture to say that among those people who follow a congenial occupation that enables them to procure a reasonable amount of comfort, such as modern civilization requires, without being overburdened with work and cares, drunkards are almost as rare as cherry-blossoms in mid-winter.

PHILIP RAPPAPORT.

Indianapolis, Ind.

OUR NATIONAL LIBRARY.

BY FRANK VROOMAN.

ONE CAN not speak of the sentimental side of our national library without reference to New Hampshire. Not only was this the first state to found a library supported by a universal compulsory tax, but the granite of our national library building lay in the hills of Concord, when, in 1825, the father and creator of our national library, Mr. Ains-

worth Rand Spofford, was born nearby amidst the New Hampshire hills.

Until 1864, when Mr. Spofford became chief librarian, the development of the congressional library was a pathetic struggle of a feeble organism with an inadequate environment. If other things than flowers grow only in the gardens of those who love them, perhaps Edward

Everett's complaint three-quarters of a century ago that we were the only civilized nation that had never founded a literary institution would throw some light on this national regret. Before 1800 A. D., Congress relied entirely on the Library Company of Philadelphia, while sitting there, and on the New York Society Library while convened in New York. Several attempts failed prior to April 24, 1800, but on that day an act was passed appropriating \$5,000 for the purchase of books and for fitting up an apartment in the Capitol to contain them. Two years afterward a librarian was appointed at two dollars a day during days of necessary attendance, presumably on such days as a statesman might want a book. In two years the United States government accumulated 964 volumes, including pamphlets and 9 maps, and then issued a catalogue.

In a report to the Senate Library Committee in 1806, stating the aim in purchasing books, it was reported by an eminent senator that it was "to furnish the library with such materials as will enable statesmen to be correct in their investigations, and by a becoming display of erudition and research give a higher dignity and brighter luster to truth."

Mr. David Hutchinson, in his interesting sketch published in the report for 1901, says that the wide range of subjects covered by the small collection of less than one thousand volumes shows that a well-directed effort was made to place in the library the best standard works on law, archæology, history, geography, political economy, theology and translations of the Greek and Roman classics. Light reading is represented by the British essayists. Fiction is entirely absent and the only poet admitted is Burns.

The library, with its subsequent additions numbering in all three thousand volumes in fourteen years, was destroyed by the British soldiers August 24, 1814.

Later in the same year Ex-President Jefferson sold his library of about seven

thousand volumes to Congress for \$23,950. Jefferson himself prepared the catalogue of what he called "The Library of the United States." This was probably the most appropriate title that could have been given to this library then or now, for its scope has been from the beginning something more, and ever increasingly more, than a reference library for Congress. Congress has always been liberal in this respect in its appropriations and in the administration of the appropriations. Early in May, 1815, the Jefferson Library was hauled to Washington in sixteen wagons and in thirty-six years the library numbered 55,000 volumes.

In 1840 Congress took steps to establish a system of international exchanges of public documents, a system which was perfected in 1867 under an act setting aside fifty,—since increased to one hundred,—copies of all government documents, to be exchanged through the Smithsonian Institution for their equivalents, to be placed in the library of Congress. This has secured a collection of documents and parliamentary publications of forty-eight governments and many municipalities, with which we are carrying on regular exchanges.

The beginning of a modern and useful working-library dates from the appointment of Mr. Spofford as librarian in December, 1864, when there were three assistants, one messenger and three laborers, with a salary-roll of \$10,500 and a total appropriation of \$9,000 for the purchase of books, including law, and for contingent expenses.

At this time the institution started in with a new impetus and power. Its development and growth have been remarkable. There are two hundred and thirty persons engaged in the care of the library materials and their service to the public, one hundred and twenty in the care of the building, seventy in the copyright-office, about ninety in the printing-office and bindery, the total number employed being about five hundred people. The copyright-offices are self-sustaining. The

printing and binding department is provided for by a special allotment, while the government is spending on the other functions about a half million dollars annually.

There are ninety persons engaged in classification and cataloguing alone. Much of this labor is spent on a half century of arrears, during which time Congress accumulated books faster than it was willing to appropriate money for the housing and classification of the materials. There are additions now of about 80,000 volumes a year, with 45,000 other items, including the most scholarly material in a hundred different languages and dialects.

In two years after Mr. Spofford became librarian, the library, which was then in the Capitol, was so crowded that two new wings were constructed, encroaching on clerks' offices, committee-rooms and storage space. These, though having a capacity of 75,000 volumes apiece, were no sooner completed than filled, partly with the accession of the great scientific library of the Smithsonian Institution of 40,000 volumes, which was moved to the Capitol in 1866.

In 1867 the Peter Force collection of Americana, 60,000 articles, was purchased for \$100,000, and in 1874 one hundred newspapers were subscribed for, including two from each state in the Union, representing different political parties.

Mr. Spofford, in 1871, called attention to the crowded condition of the library and recommended the erection of a new and separate and adequate building. After fifteen years of discussion it was decided to construct a building in charge of a commission, consisting of the Secretary of the Interior, the Architect of the Capitol Extension and the Librarian of Congress, and \$550,000 were given for the site and \$500,000 for the beginning of the building. Excavations were made during 1887 and 1888. Later the construction was placed under the charge of General Thomas L. Casey, Chief of En-

gineers of the Army, and upon his death in 1896 the charge of the construction devolved upon Bernard R. Green, under whose superintendence the building was completed February 28, 1897, at a cost of \$6,347,000, exclusive of the land which cost \$585,000.

In the plans and construction of this building the counsels of Mr. Spofford have been followed with reference to the development of another century. It has a potential capacity of five or six millions of volumes. During the thirty-year *régime* of Mr. Spofford the library increased from about 70,000 to about 1,000,000 volumes. And during the fifteen years of discussion before it was decided to erect a new and separate building, and during the years of construction, confusion was heaped on confusion, caused by the rapid accumulation of books, etc., without corresponding increase of room and facility. Here the genius of Mr. Spofford was a national benefaction. Perhaps no other librarian of any age has had the memory of books and location which then stood between so many statesmen and tribulation, for he knew where to dig in the nameless and non-classified heaps to find any one of the million books that had passed through his hands. But for this one book-genius the legislation of this country would have been of a lower tone for two decades.

No adequate word can ever be written about this noble pile of books, and no future American history can be written without reference to the magnificent service of this one man to his country and to American literature and scholarship.

The present library facilities of the United States government are in some ways the most extensive of any national equipment in the world. There are only two libraries larger than the library of Congress proper, the British Museum and the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (at Paris), but neither of these is as large if we count the other national libraries, all free, and all easy of access to the scholar. It must also be remembered that as a national

library for anything worthy of that name it is less than a half-century old. There are many libraries, if not of private ownership, at least in our smaller cities with larger collections than the nation had fifty years ago. We add more books now every year than the whole library held on the advent of Dr. Spöfford. The working library of the nation now stacked in its new home consists of 1,350,000 books and pamphlets and 750,000 other articles, not counting a million others in the files of the copyright-offices. Some of the department and bureau libraries, that of the Surgeon-General's office on surgical and medical literature, the library of the Geological Survey and that of the Agricultural Department are the finest collections in the world in their respective fields and all of them are government libraries and free, and are preparing not only to exchange materials but service; in other words, to form an organic national library system, with the library of Congress filling as far as possible the remainder of the field.

The larger government collections, outside the library of Congress, include about 1,201,000 books and pamphlets as follows:

lead. While some of the European libraries containing the accumulations of centuries have collections which can not possibly be duplicated here, no other library facilities on earth are so scientifically catalogued, available and up-to-date. The British Museum has printed catalogues. It loans no books. It is useless outside the walls of its own building and it issues no bibliographical literature. Compared with our national library, although its collections are the most valuable in the world, from the standpoint of availability it is already antiquated. It was established in 1759, over forty years before ours, having started in with 80,000 volumes of priceless materials, of books and chronicles, rolls, charts, etc. A hundred years later we had not much more than half as many volumes as the British Museum started with.

The great libraries of continental Europe are even more than the British Museum vast catacombs of unmarked literary graves. The *Bibliothèque Nationale* is the largest single book-collection in the world. But this does not mean that it is the largest library. The American conception, which is bound to dominate the libraries of the world, is that a library's

Subject.	Library.	Volumes and Pamphlets.
Agriculture.....	Department of Agriculture.....	68,000
Meteorology.....	Weather Bureau.....	23,000
Education.....	Bureau of Education.....	221,000
Geology.....	Geological Survey.....	120,000
Technology.....	Patent Office.....	74,000
Law.....	Department of Justice.....	30,000
Labor.....	" " Labor.....	11,000
Diplomacy.....	" " State.....	65,000
Nautics, Navigation, etc.....	" " Navy.....	33,000
Astronomy.....	Naval Observatory.....	24,000
Geodesy.....	Coast and Geodetic Survey.....	22,000
Military Affairs.....	Department of War.....	42,000
Medicine and Surgery.....	Surgeon-General's Office.....	364,000
Hygiene.....	Museum of Hygiene.....	11,000
National Science.....	National Museum.....	55,000
Fisheries.....	Fish Commission.....	22,000
Ethnology.....	Bureau of Ethnology.....	16,000

This gives a grand total of about three and a quarter millions of volumes and items, not counting the million volumes on file in the copyright-offices, bringing the collection numerically in the world's

supreme test, after material, is availability; that there is an intensive as well as extensive value to miles of book-stacks, and that is facility for maximum use. The mechanical handling of books for

readers, as well as perfect cataloguing for researchers, are elements in this idea. The present catalogue of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* was only begun nine years ago and they have got to the letter C. If they live and keep their health they will finish the catalogue, provided they make no new additions, in about eighty years, and store the contents in a 230-volume catalogue, when of course, if not long before, they will have to do the work all over again under the card system and do it right.

Here, with the work of cataloguing already well under way, the reader in a few minutes has any number of books on his desk, brought through the chutes from the stacks, or in serious and scholarly work he may have access to his scientific or historical material in a very short time. In short, any book out of the three millions of the government libraries may be had with no loss of time.

Our national library is in one sense first a Congressional reference-library. Second, it is for the use of the supreme court, the executive departments and scientific bureaux of the government. But in another sense, and increasingly so, it is first a national repository of American literature and American sources for national scholarship and research. But this is not all. Over and above all this Mr. Putman, the present librarian, is planning and carrying out a colossal and systematic organization of all the library material of the United States with reference to economy and availability in its highest possible use.

The idea that the national library should be the conservator of all American literature was inaugurated by Mr. Spofford, supported by Congress in passing the copyright act, conceived and secured by Mr. Spofford and carried out by the present librarian.

"Let all other libraries," says Mr. Spofford, "be exclusive, but let the library of the nation be inclusive." "In the republic of letters no censor can possibly exist whose judgments as to what should

be saved and what abandoned to destruction would stand for a moment."

"It is no new doctrine that posterity may be more interested in the 'trash' which falls with such profusion from the press than those contemporary with it. The national libraries of Europe have been for years buying up at something like their weight in gold the chap-books, pamphlets, broadsides, etc., of their respective countries, printed in centuries that are gone. It is the unconsidered trifles that teem from the press which helps to illustrate the character and spirit of their epoch. It is to those that the most philosophical of modern historians have been largely indebted for the new light which they have shed upon the annals of the past."

Mr. Putman has recently said in an unpublished address: "It has indeed a primary duty growing out of its privilege as depository under the copyright law—to reserve as complete as possible a record of the issues of the American press. This is its duty as a library of record; but I refer now particularly to its duty and its opportunity as a library for research. Its function is not primarily to entertain, or even by the literature of power, to influence, although in fact it affects a considerable local constituency in both ways. Its great and varied service will be to furnish the literature of knowledge to those engaged in serious investigation calculated to widen the boundaries of knowledge.

"In five directions it has already distinctive strength: (1) It has already the largest single accumulation of Americana, including not merely books, but maps, music and prints, and through copyright; is certain to continue this preëminence (2) it has an extraordinary collection of files of newspapers—over 40,000 volumes—with copious accessions from among the thousands it currently receives; (3) it has a collection of official documents of all countries not to be paralleled elsewhere, since it has the benefit of an exchange with foreign governments based

on a hundred sets of United States documents assigned to it for the purpose; (4) it is the custodian of the Smithsonian Library, a superb collection of publications of learned societies growing out of the Smithsonian Institution, and (5) it has been made the depository of certain great collections of historical manuscripts, bought by the government in years past; it has recently become the recognized depository of the government for other historical manuscripts in its possession, of other invaluable manuscript material lately in private hands—the largest and most important collection of ‘sources’ for American history now gathered in any one place.”

It is the hope of Mr. Putnam to so thoroughly organize the national library field that any scholar in any part of the country may be able to lay his hand on any book or collection within the limits of the United States in the shortest possible time. Such is the splendid conception our national librarian has of his office, and such are the tremendous outlines of the task he has set for himself. “Suppose,” he says, “there could be at Washington a central bureau, with adequate methods, standard forms, adequate editorial capacity and liberal facilities for publication—which could organize and coördinate this work among the libraries of the United States and represent them in such of it as, like the new Royal Society Index, is to be international? Suppose there could be at Washington a bureau which would serve as a clearing house for miscellaneous duplicates as the Bureau of Documents? It might accomplish much without handling a single article.”

Mr. Putman is establishing, in connection with the national library, a bureau of bibliography on a universal scale. There are special collections in various libraries of the country not duplicated in Washington, and which can not be duplicated. A comprehensive catalogue, not of every book but of every book available to the investigator in the United

States, is a part of this universal plan.

The outline of this national programme, whose profound and vital significance will appear to every scholar, can not be better described than in the words of an address made by Mr. Putnam at Waukesha, Wisconsin, and reprinted in the *Proceedings of the American Library Association*, August, 1901:

“In some respects the federal government of the United States has already influenced the constitution, resources and service of our public libraries. It has favored public libraries by exempting from duty books imported for their use. In its executive capacity it is itself investigator, author, publisher, manufacturer, distributor, statistician, bibliographer and librarian. It maintains at Washington, with a generosity not paralleled by any other government, bureaux for scientific research; it compiles, publishes and freely distributes the results of this research. It is the greatest publisher in the world, and the largest manufacturer of books. In a single publication repeated each year, it consumes over a million pounds of paper-stock, and it maintains a bureau whose purpose is to replenish the forests which as publisher it thus depletes. It distributes gratuitously to the libraries of the United States each year over 300,000 volumes, embodying the results of its research, its legislative proceedings, and an account of its administrative activities. It maintains a bureau for the investigation of problems in education, for the accumulation and dissemination of information concerning the work of educational institutions; and it has included the public libraries of the country among such educational institutions. In its bureau of documents it is seeking to widen and adequately to exhibit its own publications, to facilitate their distribution to libraries and to afford to libraries as to federal documents a clearing-house for duplicates.”

The library publishes all the time bib-

liographic aids, which are sent out all over the United States to other libraries and individual researchers, and sometimes information from books not to be sent away. In addition to this is the growing and important function of loans. Books on all sorts of remote and technical subjects, not available in the other libraries, are sent out from this library all over the nation, and this system of a national circulating library, of books not likely to be in use in Washington, is becoming one of the most interesting and valuable features of the work. Inquiries are answered freely out of its own books or directions are given where to find the information, if it can not be found here. The library of the Surgeon-General's office also sends its books out to members of the medical profession of the United States, and has published a catalogue covering practically the entire field of the medical sciences, making a duplication unnecessary. The national librarian has said this catalogue has conferred a general benefit not equaled by any bibliographic work within any other department of literature and is the most eminent bibliographic work yet accomplished by any government. The cost of its publication has already exceeded \$250,000.

The extension of the loan and inquiry system and bibliographic information bureau, as it were, is duplicated in no other place in the world.

The work of the ninety cataloguers of the library is peculiarly interesting in that, on a self-supporting basis, it is offering help in the printed cards to seven hundred different other libraries in the United States. It costs from twenty-five to fifty cents a volume for an expert cataloguer's service, and from fifteen to thirty-five cents for each card in a catalogue. The library has instituted a system by which new books are catalogued and the cards printed and cards furnished to such libraries as are putting the books in question on their shelves. These cards are furnished as reprints to these

libraries for two cents for the first copy and one-half cent for each other copy, or five copies for five cents for all necessary entries, which would have cost them from twenty-five to fifty cents. The receipts of the national library from this source last year were about \$17,000, enough to pay the expenses of the whole work, and something like \$100,000 were saved to those libraries which have availed themselves of this national library service.

In this highly differentiated organism, after the vast materials are acquired and catalogued, they are classified in groups for the convenience of readers; documents, law manuscripts, prints, periodicals, music and maps. Outside this there is a service of scientists to scientists and of specialists to specialists.

As the fountain-head of national scholarship and research, it is the representative library of America. Its treasures of Americana are not complete but rich and it seeks constantly to render it complete in all that relates to discovery, settlement, history, biography, topography, geography, national history, etc., etc., on the continent.

Another example is the map division, which contains 70,000 maps, including 10,000 insurance maps of 60,000 sheets, giving every structure, with height and character of each, where fire-risks have been placed. This constitutes a history of the structural development of most of the towns of the country, and have not been saved by the publisher or insurance companies but have been saved by this library.

The librarian told the writer of this paper of an incident, two days before this writing, of a New York lawyer who had looked everywhere for certain maps of real estate in New York state, and came to Washington "day before yesterday." He found seven maps upon which the issues of a great case depended. One of Mr. Putnam's assistants accompanied the lawyer to New York with the maps and doubtless has them in court "this morning."

Some time ago two antiquated and superseded maps saved the government some hundreds of thousands of dollars, enough to run the whole map-department for a generation. 25,000 head of cattle were run off a Texas ranch in the sixties. The eye-witnesses swore they drove them fifty miles to the left of Twin mountain. The issue of the case depended on whether they were driven by friendly Indians, for whom the government was responsible, or hostile Indians for whose action the government, having given warning, were not responsible. The direction would decide whether they were friendly Apaches or hostile Comanches. No modern maps showed Twin mountain. Two old maps of 1867 and 1869 showed Twin mountain and decided the direction in the Comanche country and the government not responsible for the payment of damages for 25,000 head of cattle.

Many interesting illustrations of the inevitable value of remote and modest material might be recited. In the case of reserving newspaper-files, an interesting circumstance is related of the purchase of the file of the *Charleston Courier* for \$5,000, beginning in 1800. Reference to these papers upon filing of claims of citizens of South Carolina has given conclusive proof that many claimants were confederates and had taken part in confederate meetings during the war, saving hundreds of thousands of dollars to the government.

There are hundreds of volumes of the *London Times*, the file being complete from the beginning, 1795.

The *London Gazette*, dating from 1665, is the oldest complete English newspaper in the library and the only complete file in the United States. Yellow with age, its first numbers are still clear and the ink good. There are 40,000 volumes of newspaper-files, including two from every state in the Union, and many papers and magazines from every civilized country in the world.

The manuscript division is a creation

of 1897. Before this date there were very few collections of manuscripts. The earlier collections were in the libraries of the executive departments, principally that of the Department of State. This division now occupies commodious and beautiful quarters in one wing of the building, which has been filled with every modern convenience and appliance for receiving, repairing, cataloguing and storing manuscript material, which is all kept behind locked doors, some of the most valuable of it in large burglar-proof steel safes with combination locks.

A great many of the papers have been received in a disordered condition, damaged by fire, moisture, insects, careless handling, wear and tear. These papers are put under heavy pressure for two months, then patched with infinite care and covered with a transparent silk gauze, four thicknesses of which would not render a manuscript illegible. Covered on both sides by this gauze, the manuscript is mounted on a page of thick strong paper in a huge leather volume and indexed and cross-indexed, catalogued by dates and subjects and authors and is then ready for the biographer, bibliographer or historian. A number of repairers are at work all the time in making practically indestructible for ordinary library purposes these original materials without which no future American history can be written.

Prominent among the collection is, of course, that of George Washington. There are here, though still uncounted, approximately five to seven thousand pieces in George Washington's hand, including many volumes of diaries and account books, and these, not one-third of those still extant, show the prodigious care he took of every detail of life, how he knew to a penny what everything cost him, knew every hour every slave he owned worked or "niggged." One reads at random seventeen shillings and six pence lost at cards,—an off-day for him. Here is an entry in 1756, when he loaned three pounds to his mother, then five

pounds, and then ten shillings, and thirteen or fifteen years after he charges it to profit and loss with the line "I suppose she never meant to pay it."

If a visitor from Mars were to reconstruct George Washington from his own extant manuscript, without reference to

another source of information, he would give us a figure without much of a halo on his brow, but perhaps it would not be more like the George Washington who was.

FRANK VROOMAN.

Berkeley, Cal.

LIBERTY, LAW AND LABOR.

BY FANNIE HUMPHREYS GAFFNEY.

Honorary President of National Council of Women of the United States.

GREAT human questions are slow in formation. Events, time, conditions, environment, weld them together as words form sentences. When they reach the point of utterance, they have become truths. It is not possible to unsay them once they have been born into life and expressed in speech.

The labor problem is a great human question. Stripped of its unions, disturbing influences, arbitrary domination, ill-advised strikes and crimes, which have attached themselves to it really as barnacles, but acting as fetters,—the labor problem stands before us, a Man, and puts to us the simple question:

"Is not the value of human liberty as great as the value of property?"

To this question there can be but one answer: Yes.

Yet, in point of fact, property and human life in the eye of the law are in many cases better protected than the essential rights of man, for whose benefit property and life have been thus protected.

One of our journals lately offered the following definition:

"A fact is a dead thing; Truth is a live thing. The fact must be warmed and vitalized in a human soul before it becomes a truth."

This is a wholesome and timely explanation of the difference between two words often misapplied the one for the other, or oftener misused so as to imply that they are interchangeable.

It is a fact that the strong arm of the law protects property. It is equally a fact that the same strong arm falls with authority upon any man who by physical violence and certain other proscribed acts disturbs the public peace.

Yet these two facts may not necessarily have arrived at the dignity of truths.

In our civilization fact often precedes truth.

Long ago public opinion pronounced that property and life must be protected and public peace preserved. It now remains for public opinion to rouse itself to further utterance and pronounce that there are other forces which disturb the peace as banefully and inevitably as physical violence and brute force.

What has been a fact should now warm into a truth. The administration of law should include in its punishment *all* breaches of public peace, of whatever nature.

At this day to discriminate and count the public peace disturbed only by the offender who resorts to brute force, is to hark back to ages when men seized whatever they could take by the strong arm, and so held it.

The human spirit has not changed. Theoretically, man has evolved away from the land baron; but practically it is only a change of base. The land baron has been succeeded by the commercial baron. The power of possession and property still rules, and right and

wrong are yet flexible standards, according to interpretation and the application of power.

Among facts unfortunately attaching themselves to the labor question, there stands forth prominently the one that labor, more than any other class of interests, is continually disturbing the so-called public peace. Last year, or year before last, the coal miners in Pennsylvania stirred up the country. This year the mine workers of Colorado are roused to the point of desperate resistance against certain conditions connected with their employment. The only answer to the Why of this situation is this:

So long as the law provides no court for effective settlement of these troubles, the only weapon labor has for the defence of its interests, is refusal to work except upon agreed conditions.

Hence arises all the difficulty of the labor question and here it will remain until we offer labor some efficient substitute to which it can trust for its defence.

As it now is, once the laborer refuses work on the employer's terms, he sees other men slipping into his place, thus rendering his one weapon powerless. What wonder then that, confronted by such defeat and with hunger threatening their helpless families, some in the ranks lose self-control and resort to acts of violence?

The fact can not be gainsaid that the letter of the law, as interpreted in recent strikes, has actually ranged all the forces of law and order on the side of employers as against strikers. Yet it cannot be admitted by any course of reasoning, that the spirit of the law was intended to lend state aid to one party in a controversy, as against another, without trial and before judgment.

It matters not what violence and bloodshed the state aims to prevent by intervention, or by protecting non-union men in the right to labor, this greater fact overshadows all: that by such protection employers are given not only moral support in conducting their business in their

own way and for their private profit, but the state actually by such protection becomes an ally of employers while the strife or controversy continues.

Let employers be forced to manage their business during strikes without the aid of the officers of the law, and the country would not so often be disturbed by strikes. It is the menace to life, and not the protection of it, which makes the National Guard useful to employers. They keep the strikers at bay.

Human equality does not agree with any such one-sided aid being rendered one belligerent, since the other is equally a citizen, and should be favored with all the rules of neutrality—at least in a republic. I neither commend anarchy nor condone the violence resorted to by desperate strikers. Neither do I pretend to deny that the arbitrary dictation of unions has in many cases been a blundering abuse of power and an unbearable menace to the freedom of employers.

I do not enter into this phase of the question. I simply wish to suggest that the labor question has advanced to a point where it demands that facts give place to truth—truth in the administration of justice, so that inordinate desire for wealth or power and its attendant evils, greed, fraud, oppression, shall be equally dealt with as disturbers of the peace and instigators to crime—as much to be feared as physical violence and other results of untamed human passion.

Without prejudice, let us calmly ask ourselves: "Is the principle right that the National Guard should be at the call of employers to uphold their dictum against another class of citizens who may have an equal or better right to aid and support in their contention?"

Has not the government alone the right to deal impartially with both sides in such a controversy? And facing the ever-recurring attitude of employers against strikers, can we honestly say that the sole reason of dragging the National Guard into the controversy is not based upon the one fact of menace?

In our attitude toward labor, in our fear of strikes and their accompanying loss and violence, we seem quite to lose sight of the fact that in a republic such as ours, past conditions for the workman must yield place to present ones.

We invite and receive upon our shores, weekly, thousands of immigrants from the monarchies of the old world. They leave the monarchy and come here—for what? For work, yes—but above all, for more pay. At once they get more pay. Later, Freedom is dinned into their ears and finally the vote is placed in their hands and they are told they are men and citizens. We glory in the freedom and hope America offers to the world; and yet when the question is raised as between master and man, some old instinct of domination rises and we expect the worker to yield a docile submission. At once we forget that we are in a republic, and refuse to consider that we are responsible for conditions, in that we have fed our workmen on meat and roused in them the spirit of independence.

It is idle in this day and country to reason that workingmen should be satisfied, and that the world used to roll round more smoothly when master alone, and not man, dictated terms of labor. Master has changed, as well as man, in the passing years. Why expect labor to abide under past conditions while the rest of the world moves on?

If a money crisis arrives because circulation is clogged by money stored, cornered, or otherwise withheld from public use, the owners seeing fit to keep it idle, we do not call out the National Guard to menace or the police to arrest the owners of such funds, on the ground that they are disturbing the public peace, causing bankruptcy and inducing suicides.

Yet is it not a fact that a money-panic is a disturber of public peace in each of these ways?

I fear that we are prejudiced in our fair judgment by our point-of-view. We have looked so long upon possession as nine-tenths of the law that we have sur-

rendered the other tenth, or lost sight of it.

If capital does not come out and invest, we can't force it. Yet we reason against labor withheld as if it were a public servant which should continue on in the steady duty of work, whether it pays the laborer or not.

In general the public thinks little of the laborer. It calmly accepts the results of labor; it uses, enjoys and sometimes absorbs these results as a sort of natural right quite as God-given as sun and air. Therefore, when labor stops, when work is thrown aside, when the human worker questions, and pauses until his questions are answered, the public is angry and even fancies its rights invaded.

Equally false is the pretence advanced by many that they are against strikes because the labor union is wrong on principle. How?

If organization is right for one class of interests, it should be right for all. It can not be just to permit some people to organize for some purposes of fair profit or interest, and then refuse the same privilege to others. Surely the laborer has the highest right to set a price upon his labor and to have a voice as to the conditions surrounding his work.

The surest weapon labor has for its claim is refusal to work except upon agreed conditions. If it kept right on working, its demands would seldom, if ever, be agreed to. Certainly in no other instance of dispute would we expect that one party or side continue to aid and serve the other, just as if no question was in dispute, no concession demanded.

Labor must have the right to give or withhold its service, or labor ceases to be recognized as the work of citizens and becomes the toil of serfs.

Admitting union in other interests, we must allow it to labor. To fight labor unions in the present is to fight windmills. The most we can hope to do is to control them.

No element of power in the world is without its attendant danger. Because

powder sometimes spontaneously explodes, we don't prohibit the use of powder. The proper application of powder is what all our civilization strives for.

All unions or federations, whether of capital or labor, are a dangerous element to all outside such union. They are allied for defence but occasion may arise when the alliance makes for offence. Colorado points a flagrant instance of this when the citizens, as against miners' unions, formed themselves for defence into a citizens' alliance and in the power thus gained, decreed that union workers must be deported from the state.

This action offered no remedy for the evil. It simply substituted one class of oppressors for another. The country has no more to fear from labor unions than it has from any other form of organization.

Labor has an equal right with any other interest to unite, protest, and even resist conditions which press unduly upon it.

And a condition which now presses heavily upon labor is that in its conflict with capital, it is harried and menaced by state forces which should be wholly neutral and lend their weight to neither one side nor the other in the controversy.

The labor problem in this country demands a fair court of arbitration,—a court presided over by judges as invulnerable to bribery as the Supreme Court of the United States. Here the claims of employer and employed should be impartially weighed and adjusted.

To evade such a public adjustment is not only to fasten strikes upon us, but it is to nullify our republican boast of equal citizenship.

The public should demand some general arrangement and adjustment by which no class of worker or owner will be given discretion to err on the side of injustice. A code of equity, as between employer and employed, must be established. I believe this to be inevitable.

The labor question will not be settled without a satisfactory answer to its claims. It demands a fair share of the prosperity of the century.

Bias to one side or the other of the problem only puts off the evil day.

The answer given to the miners in Pennsylvania only staved off the day of reckoning. The answer of Colorado is a threat of anarchy which has set many minds thinking that there may be two sides to this as to most questions.

But perhaps the most decisive answer of all comes from Illinois. Here one man owns the whole town of Zeigler. Land, homes, business, mines, are his by holy right of possession.

He proposes to manage the town according to his own will. In his mines he has reduced the scale seventeen cents per ton, and insists that those he employs shall work ten hours a day. Those who refuse to accept these conditions are ordered to leave his town. To enforce his ruling he has imported police and detectives from Chicago to protect *his* town and guard *his* plant. Is not this a jump back to feudalism under state or city protection? Then the feudal lord maintained his own—now the state defends while the lord owns.

The labor question will not be dismissed by such exhibitions of abuse of power. Prejudice will not cause it to disappear, nor evasion make it dissolve itself into thin air.

The question will remain with us until it is answered with dignity, truth and justice.

"I can call spirits from the vasty deep."

"Aye, but will they come when you do call for them?"

So we may say that we dismiss the labor question. But the counter question confronts us: "Will the labor question dismiss at your command?"

FANNIE HUMPHREYS GAFFNEY.

Larchmont-on-the-Sound, N. Y.

A CURE FOR MUNICIPAL BRIBERY.

By GEORGE CRANE.

I.

TO A LARGE extent the prevalence of bribery in this country is due to the imperfect and inefficient means provided by the law for its detection and punishment. And such provisions as have heretofore been enacted are primarily directed against and have for their chief object or purpose the punishment of the parties who received the bribes. While such punishment is altogether proper and judicious in itself, it is far from being the sole or even the chief basis on which legislation against bribery should be founded. Neither is it the most efficient method of screening the community from the evil and corrupt practice against which it is directed. On the contrary, the chief purpose of the lawmaker should be to strike down the bribe-giver and to take from him as far as possible all incentive to the perpetration of his evil deeds.

The strength of the motive to corruption, like that to an investment, is measured entirely by the chances of gain or profit, that is to say, as you diminish the opportunities for gain or multiply the probabilities of loss, you weaken or decrease the motive to either corruption or legitimate investment. Hence the rascal in weighing in the balance the prospects of gain through his corruption and the chances of escape from all punishment by imprisonment, should be compelled on the other side to consider the probabilities of an equally great loss or detriment in the event his rascality should be discovered.

In the further discussion of this subject our observations will be applied especially to city councils or municipal corporations, since a very large percentage, perhaps a majority, of the corruptions in this country occurs or takes place

in connection with the transaction of the business of these corporate bodies. In this class of cases of course the primary object of the bribe-giver is gain or the accumulation of wealth, the enrichment of himself and his associates.

II.

Assuming that the offence of bribery has been committed, the first requisite is to discover the evidence necessary to prove the facts constituting the offence, and to establish the identity of the parties charged with its commission. To this end the law should provide and hold out a strong and powerful motive to induce the bribe-taker, or any one cognizant of the facts, except the party furnishing the means of corruption, to come forward and make a complete disclosure of all the circumstances connected with or pertaining to the offence. In short, to any one who voluntarily comes forward and divulges to the mayor or other proper authorities of a city, or to a resident taxpayer of the city, such knowledge or information as will lead to the establishment of the charge of bribe-giving against any person, company, or corporation, a large pecuniary reward, in addition to exemption from punishment, should be given. In all such offences there are necessarily two parties to the transaction, and both should be made the victims of the law's avenging power whenever possible; whether the degree of moral turpitude is the same in both or not is a purely academic question. If only one of the parties can be brought to suffer proper punishment, certainly that one should be the bribe-giver, the party who receives the chief fruits of the crime and furnishes the sole means of its commission.

This view is sustained and justified

by the fact, that to punish and get rid of the briber is the most direct, practical and effective way to rid the community of the evils of bribery. In this connection it must be remembered that the number of bribe-givers, in comparison with the number of parties who are ready and willing to receive bribes, is relatively very small. The former in addition to being destitute of all moral principle or honor, must possess the wealth or pecuniary ability to provide the funds necessary to achieve or carry out his nefarious purposes. It is no doubt true that a vast majority of these offences against the cities are perpetrated by and in the interest of corporations, and of these generally by public-service corporations. This fact shows how very limited is the number of bribe-givers in comparison with the number of bribe-takers. One successful prosecution against a wealthy corporation followed by the infliction and collection of a heavy fine, as well as by the deprivation of all boodle or stolen property obtained through its villainy, would do more to check or stamp out bribery than a hundred successful prosecutions against the petty, obscure and insignificant bribe-receivers. Whenever one such bribe-giver is driven or frightened from the field of corruption, at least fifteen, twenty or thirty bribe-receivers are driven out at the same time. Their occupation is gone.

Under the influence of a reward it would not be unreasonable to expect that sometimes a member of the city government would be willing to play the rôle of a detective and in such character would accept the briber's gift with the intent and for the express purpose of making a full disclosure of the corruption. Furthermore, when the guilty parties are numerous, each one is under a strong temptation to be the first to go forward and make a clean breast of the whole matter and thereby not only secure exemption from punishment, but also establish his claim to the exclusive ownership of a valuable reward. Each one

knows that the only thing that will prevent such a disclosure from being made by some one of his comrades in guilt, is the so-called principle of "honor among thieves." That a strong pecuniary temptation would generally prove a fatal strain upon this attenuated principle can be hardly doubted.

Another fact to be considered in this connection is that the briber would never know just what kind of a man he is dealing with. He would never know but what the party to whom he is paying his money or is arranging to make payment in the future, is adroitly and deliberately scheming to get him and his associates into the clutches of the law. This very uncertainty would of itself prove a potential factor in preventing or restraining recourse to the practice of corruption.

III.

However, city authorities should not be wholly dependent for their evidence on the free and voluntary action of the parties involved in the guilt. On the contrary the law should authorize every city or a resident taxpayer thereof to go into a court of justice and file an *ex parte* application or petition in the nature of a bill of discovery alleging in general terms the facts constituting the charges of bribery and asking the court to order an investigation to be made, and to issue all processes necessary to render such investigation complete and effective. This method of procedure is suggested as an improvement on the slow and cumbersome proceedings before a grand jury. But strict secrecy, as in like proceedings before the grand jury, should be enforced and all the witnesses examined separately. The chief advantages of such procedure are, that it can be instituted at any time, and can be adjourned or suspended if necessary, and all questions touching the relevancy or competency of the evidence, or the self-crimination of witnesses can be decided without delay or serious interruption of the proceedings. In such investigations whenever a witness claims

exemption from testifying on the ground that he is not bound to criminate himself, the court should have the authority to grant him a full pardon at once, and to order that in no proceedings, either civil or criminal, shall his testimony be used against him except in a prosecution for perjury in giving such testimony.

IV.

The most effective safeguard that the law can furnish when a corporation is the bribe-giver or the recipient of the stolen property, would be to impose upon the guilty company, or the corporate body itself, a very heavy penalty, say a penalty not less than one thousand dollars nor more than twenty per cent. on the capital stock authorized by its charter or articles of incorporation. Obviously such a penalty could not be justly regarded as excessive when considered in connection with the overwhelming strength of the motive operating upon the company, and the magnitude of the wrong and injustice done to the people of the city when the efforts of the corruptionist are crowned with success. A penalty to be truly deterrent or repressive in its operation, should have some relation or proportion to the extent or magnitude of the evils it is designed to mitigate or prevent.

V.

As a further safeguard to the cities, the law should provide that where any person, company or corporation has obtained a franchise or other valuable property from any city or other municipal corporation and has in connection therewith or as a means thereto bribed any member of the city council or other officer of such city, and said city or municipal corporation has by reason of the granting of such franchise or other valuable property sustained any loss or damage whatever, such city should have the legal right and authority to sue for and recover from such person, company or corporation all loss or damage so sustained, and in addition thereto whatever exemplary

or vindictive damages the jury in the exercise of their discretion may deem proper. To establish a complete *prima facie* right to recover it should be sufficient simply to show that bribery was used in connection with, or as a means of acquiring such franchise or other property. Proof that a single member of the city council or other officer was paid or received a bribe of any kind, should of itself establish a basis for the recovery of damages. The legal presumption should be that the party receiving and enjoying the stolen property directed and sanctioned whatever means were employed or steps taken in its acquisition.

This right of action should remain absolutely intact, no difference what the terms and conditions of the agreement or arrangement between the city and the other parties may be, all provisions, stipulations or covenants to any extent in conflict with or designed to take away, frustrate or destroy this right of action should be declared and held to be absolutely null and void. Neither should the city through its council or otherwise have any right or power to either defeat or destroy or to compromise, adjust, settle or waive this right of action except under the authority and sanction of a court of justice.

VI.

Another means of protecting cities against the evils of corruption, would be to invest the courts of equity with full power to annul and set aside any grant, transfer or conveyance of any right, franchise or other property of a city when the same has to the loss or detriment of such city been to any extent procured through or by means of bribery practiced by the grantee. To what extent and under what circumstances courts of equity would interfere in such cases under existing laws and grant to the cities the relief here suggested are questions whose answers are still involved in a greater or lesser degree of doubt and uncertainty. Hence specific legislative enactments au-

thorizing these courts to declare void and annul all fraudulent, corrupt or collusive alienations of any of the rights, franchises or other property of cities, would at once sweep away all such doubt and uncertainty, and at the same time add greatly to the safety and protection of the interests of municipal corporations.

When a city in such cases fails, neglects or refuses to institute proceedings for relief, any property-holder or taxable in-

habitant of the city should have the right to bring an action in his own name on the ground that he has an indirect legal interest in the preservation of all the rights, franchises and other property of the city, and will sustain loss and damage in case the corrupt and fraudulent actions of the city officials are not rendered void by the rulings of the court.

GEORGE CRANE.

Dubuque, Iowa.

THE PRIMARY CAUSE OF ALTERNATE ACTIVITY AND DEPRESSION IN TRADE.

BY SAMUEL BRAZIER.

INDICATIONS are not wanting that what has been so generally proclaimed to be "our great prosperity" is about to be succeeded by a period of trade depression. A correct view of the causes which produce alternate periods of good and bad trade is of interest, not only theoretically, but materially and financially, to every investor, to every capitalist, and to every workman in the nation.

Trade is simply the exchange of commodities for commodities. It derives its incentive from the wants and desires of human nature. So long as men seek the gratification of their wants there can be under normal conditions no such thing as depression in trade. During what is known as a period of trade depression human desires and wants are as active and urgent as ever. Depression, therefore, cannot originate in any diminution of demand. It can only originate when potential demand is unable to find means of gratification; that is to say, when there is a failure in the supply of those commodities which are necessary to be exchanged for others, that human desires may be satisfied. Clearly it is at the point of production, not at the point of

consumption, that depression in trade must have its originating cause. Demand is perpetual and constantly tends to increase. Each succeeding age requires more than the former age, more and better clothing, more and better food, more and better accommodation, more and superior gratifications of every kind. Human desires and requirements tend to increase with their gratification, and the luxuries of the past generation become the necessities of this.

Any actual decrease in demand can only occur, therefore, when there is a failure in the means to pay for the desired gratifications. When people retrench their expenses in food, clothing, furniture and other necessities, or when they cut down their expenses in luxuries, it is not because they desire such things any less than before. It is because they lack the means to pay for them. And they lack the means to pay for them only because of the lessened production of those things on which they depended for obtaining the means. Lessened demand is always preceded and caused by lessened supply. Whenever demand is lessened without human wants being fully satisfied, it is absolutely certain that produc-

tion has first of all received a check somewhere. Depression in trade, or reduced demand, is impossible till production has been somewhere first of all reduced.

To find the ultimate cause of that widespread cessation in demand which we speak of as stagnation in trade, we must trace it back to some point where the first step is taken in checking production. At some point in the complicated system of production and exchange the first hindrance to production must occur which creates the first failure in demand and communicates itself ultimately throughout the entire world of industry and commerce.

The primary industries are those which operate directly with land, which extract wealth directly from nature,—agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining. These occupations produce the demand for all others. The tailors and shoemakers follow the miner. The storekeepers follow the farmer. Miners and farmers do not go to a new place because carpenters and blacksmiths are there, but carpenters and blacksmiths go because miners and farmers are there. The pyramid of human industry rests absolutely on the land. All industry is practically the application of labor and capital to land, or to materials obtained from land. All industries of every kind whatever require the use of land. The first check, therefore, in the long chain of causes which produce depression and stagnation in trade must be found in some hindrance which discourages or prevents the free application of labor and capital to land. That hindrance is the speculative advance in land values which always precedes and mainly causes successive periods of business depression. That there are other minor subsidiary causes is not to be denied, but they are altogether inadequate of themselves to produce bad trade universally in any country.

Overproduction is sometimes regarded as the chief cause of trade depression. Stores and warehouses are filled with goods which cannot be sold; and many

mills and thousands of work-people are put on half-time or are altogether idle. This is so, it is said, because production has exceeded the demand for consumption. Yet there has been no single hour when the people have had as much of this piled-up wealth as they desired and could have consumed. They still want more than they can obtain. During the period of supposed overproduction thousands of idle men have vainly offered their labor for the purpose of obtaining some of this wealth. When the period of activity in trade has gone by their number is increased. While the stores are full of goods which cannot be sold, the streets are full of involuntary idlers who want the goods but cannot buy. Overproduction will not bear examination in the face of the fact that the people have at no time received half as much as they could consume.

Then we say, "Money is scarce"; "people have no money." But why have they no money? Simply because they are not able to produce those commodities which they exchange for money in order that they may exchange this money for other commodities which they desire. Produce of one kind is unsalable because produce of another kind is scarce. The people who would be buyers have no money, because the production has been checked by which their money is obtained. A check in production and a check in consumption stand in the relation of cause and effect. But it is not a check in consumption that first causes a check in production; it is a check in production that first causes a check in consumption—always. A falling off in demand is a result of diminished production. Overproduction, overconsumption and some other reasons commonly assigned as causes of bad trade no doubt contain some element of truth and have some force; but they do not explain the situation, and as explanations of the phenomena of recurrent periods of activity and depression of trade they are entirely inadequate. After a period of prosperity

the desire to consume remains unabated; the willingness to consume remains unabated; and the ability and will to produce remain unchanged. Why, then, should a period of inactivity succeed good times?

The main initial cause is doubtless that check to production which is brought about by the increase in land values which invariably and inevitably results from a period of prosperity. It is the operation of a natural law. It is not produced by land owners nor by capitalists nor by government; and all the governments on earth cannot prevent it. This increase in ground-rents is the result of a natural law which determines the growing wealth of a nation to rent; in other words, rent like a huge sponge absorbs advancing wealth. Material progress does not tend to increase interest nor wages, but it vastly increases land values. The wealth of a nation registers itself in rent. Increasing rent is the increasing charge which capital and labor must pay for the use of the earth. During a period of prosperity this increase in rent proceeds till a point is reached at which production is checked. This stoppage in production is the first step in the succeeding period of stagnation. Concurrently with this increasing charge which capital and labor must pay for their opportunities, another and probably the most important result is brought about. A large volume of capital is tempted into land investment by the increasing land values. This capital being withdrawn or withheld from productive enterprises, the check on production is greatly intensified. In this manner is produced the first diminution in production which creates the first diminution in demand, and results in dull trade, involuntary idleness and increased want and poverty throughout the civilized world.

During every period of trade activity the rent of land increases beyond its normal value, and reaches a speculative value which rules universally. It is only when this speculative value is reduced,

actually or proportionately to the total wealth production, that capital will again be turned into productive channels, and the period of depression will pass away.

The speculative advance in land values alone explains the period of bad trade which regularly succeeds a period of good trade throughout the industrial world. As already stated, this advance in rents is not brought about by the will of land-owners, who are no more responsible for it than other people. It is none the less of the nature of a lockout against capital and labor, and in these days of rapid material progress it produces results more disastrous than were possible in quieter and less progressive times. If our perceptions were not dulled by familiarity, how astonishing and unnatural it would seem that many thousands of willing workers, able and anxious to produce wealth, should remain in enforced idleness. These men desire wealth. The earth is full of it. The price to be paid for it is labor. These men are offering the price, but there is no opportunity for them to satisfy their wants. They are excluded from the source of all opportunity, the earth itself. When many thousands of men of all trades and occupations are seeking work and cannot find any, it is certain that the ultimate cause can only be that labor is shut off from land somewhere. It may be on either side of the earth; it may be in Europe or in the United States, or both. Somewhere the first check has been given to production by speculative advance in land values, and the effect, a check in demand, has propagated similar checks in a thousand occupations till the final result is felt in widespread depression, commercial failures and involuntary idleness.

It is said that one million work-people are constantly out of employment in this nation, even in moderately good times. These involuntary idlers produce no wealth. Their enforced idleness entails a greater loss on the nation than the cost of a large standing army. It is not neces-

sary to suppose that were every obstacle removed which prevents free access to land these idlers would all become miners or herdsmen or farmers; but it can hardly be doubted that a sufficient number of them would do so to give employment to the rest, and to create a demand for more. And their employment would not fail to bring advantage and profit to every merchant, manufacturer and tradesman in the nation.

Apart from any theory or theories, it is clear and undeniable that throughout

the industrial world speculative advance in ground rent or land values, which includes and controls franchises, invariably precedes a season of commercial depression. That advance in land values is the main cause which brings about depression in trade is scarcely less clear. And it is the only explanation which accounts adequately for these alternate periods in the world of industry and commerce.

SAMUEL BRAZIER.

Boston, Mass.

AN UNCONSCIOUS RETURN TO TYRANNY.

BY FRANK MUNRO.

THE DEVOLUTION of legislative and judicial functions upon boards and commissions, and even upon private or semi-private corporations, contrary to the tripartite scheme of rational government, is a tendency of the times which may be held to imperil the liberties of the people.

It seems desirable and relevant to recall briefly that men, in the development of democratic society, conceived of a legislative department, a judicial and an executive, each to be supreme in its own sphere. It was never contemplated that the powers of legislation should be exercised by the judiciary, for obviously the courts would not be directly amenable to the authoritative people; neither was it designed that the judicial function should be transferred to the private citizen, not even excepting a "commission"; for the lay class, even if accomplished and upright, would still be without the complete mechanism and power of judicial tribunals to compel the fullest testimony, and thus secure exact justice.

Nevertheless, it would appear that legislators and citizens in general do not always apprehend these primary political

distinctions. Laws have been passed; commissions appointed and license-boards created which override, with many potentialities of injustice, what may be called the constitutional principle of specialization.

When the high tribunal of Massachusetts declared recently that the Metropolitan Park Commission, acting under a new law, could not proscribe certain inartistic advertising signs, the ground of the opinion was that this interference constituted a violation of the rights of property. The soundness of this view is not questioned; but if, discursively, a maxim be enunciated—and it arises most logically—that legislative and judicial functions cannot be transferred or delegated, and on this alone the act in question be disallowed, will not a blow be struck at the fundamental error of the legislators, and perhaps something be done, by suggestion, to prevent a recurrence of this dangerous class of law-making blunders?

It must not be assumed, in this connection, that a state legislature itself could constitutionally pass such a prescriptive measure. Apparently it could

not. The proceeding is repugnant to the idea of liberty; and it requires but little examination to prove that the alleged offence to the esthetic would be of slight consequence compared to the evils, hardships and injustice that, if the principle were widely applied, would result to the people as a whole.

Perhaps a still more striking illustration of the irregular devolution of legislative authority is noted in the proscription, by many towns, of a circus. It may not be permitted in certain places because it "takes away money"; or brings a horde of roughs, necessitating extra expense for police; or causes the poorer and less morally robust citizen to neglect the payment of his grocers' bills. Hence, the license-board, selectmen or aldermen, as the case may be, refuse to grant a permit. They have come to believe that the extraordinary power of prohibition belongs to them by virtue of charter from the legislature, oblivious to the fact that the law-making body itself is impotent to prohibit a legitimate business, and certainly could not transmit extra-physical functions to its creature. They overlook the fact that the essence of the license principle is, after all, regulation, not prevention. They propose, in effect, in the specific case of the circus, to punish a body not for evils inherent, but belonging to the imperfect community in which it temporarily abides. They do not heed the caution that in dealing with an evil we must not destroy liberty, but merely the parasites of liberty.

Rather should the people know and understand, not necessarily the evanescent circus, but the living principle comprehended in its existence as a legitimate institution. They must see that it has the rights of trade; and that it is infinitely better for the developing human nature of a community to have large freedom of choice than be bound and find an apparent compensation in—neighborhood serenity!

But any indirect weakening of character is secondary to the direct injustice and harm likely to be inflicted upon business enterprise, if powers of proscription and interference are devolved from their proper spheres upon politically isolated and irresponsible persons, however well-meaning they may be.

An important correlated matter is the bestowing of judicial functions, notably in the large cities of the state of New York, upon a semi-private corporation, the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. With full sympathy for the objects of the organization, may it yet not be said that the act empowering the society to take an unlicensed dog, and in default of the license fee, and an added money penalty, confiscate and perhaps destroy the animal, is not only *ultra vires*, but specifically unconstitutional? "Nor shall any person be . . . deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law," says the fifth amendment of the American Constitution; "Judicial powers cannot be delegated," says the potential maxim. Yet in the Empire State, and elsewhere, this is done, and the lawmakers have said that it is all right!

With a scarcely wider application of the new doctrine of every corporation its own judiciary, there well may be the spectacle of a department store arresting a shoplifter and putting her forthwith into a cage, or inflicting other monitory degradation. (The equitable possibilities of inequity are almost appalling!) The machinery of the courts, designed to secure protection to the accused, completest information and judicial guidance in the meting out of justice, would largely rust away, and a diversified tyranny of autocracy, some of the fore-runners of which have been noted, would press heavily upon the people.

FRANK MUNRO.

Boston, Mass.

THE MIRACULOUS FOREST.

BY DR. FREDERICKA C. ZELLER.

I HAD come to spend the summer in the Swiss village of Lorne lying close to the heart of the mountains.

I thought that the other guests of the little hotel where I was staying had come for the same purpose until I went for a promenade on the veranda. Here I saw groups of people, and could hear them animatedly discussing the forest close at hand.

"Can this be an enchanted forest," soliloquized I, "and I not have known it? I will try to find out something about this mystery into which I have unconsciously come," I thought, and approached a group of ladies standing near. Addressing a young woman, I said: "Pardon me, Madam, may I ask you about the forest; is there any strange history connected with it?"

"Oh, do you not know?" she replied pleasantly. "Certainly I will tell you then. This is the forest that gives clear sight to every one who walks through it, no matter how blind he may have been."

"Indeed, are all these people blind whom I see about me?" I inquired.

"They do not see truly," she returned.

"I do not quite understand you," I said. "Must one walk in any special path or in any special direction?"

"Yes, in the unbeaten and unfrequented path, and in the *right* direction," she responded.

"Can you describe the path to me?" I asked. "I see very well, but if I could gain a clearer vision by a walk through the forest, I would gladly go."

"You will know the path when you find it; every one else does," she replied. "You will feel amply repaid for your walk," she added.

"Thank you very much," I said, and left her.

Early the next morning I entered the

forest, determined to find the secret it contained. I found numberless paths going towards the interior. While I stood and debated with myself which path I should choose, I remembered that I had been advised to take the unbeaten path.

To the right the moss grew very thick; there were no footprints, and the shadows were very deep. I began my walk at this place, and soon fell into a deep reverie as I walked slowly along. I did not notice anything until I stumbled and was startled by the sudden rustle of the leaves. I stopped, and saw a few steps ahead of me a tiny wood sprite shivering and chattering with cold.

The air was soft and balmy; hence, I could not but wonder why the little creature shivered. Moved by curiosity, I drew a little closer, carefully looked it over, and saw that it wore a large cloak which it drew closely and entirely around its meager form. The garment was made of a peculiar coarse fabric and its color was exceedingly ugly. Looking more attentively, I could see, now and then, a slender white thread woven throughout the entire cloth. I was strangely impressed with this unusual sight and especially with the fact that the elf pulled constantly at the cloak in the effort to wrap itself more closely in the folds, and the closer the mite drew the cloak, the colder it seemed to grow.

I did not know whether this elf creation could be spoken to or not. However I tried to address it, and finally said: "Little one, why do you not leave this shadow? Go out into the sunshine, and into the beautiful world. They are but a step away, and there, it surely will not be so cold as here."

The sprite did not answer me but quietly passed out to the edge of the for-

est into the flooding sunlight. I followed, and saw that the light seemed to dazzle it. Instantly it held its little withered hands across its eyes to shield them. Then it leaned against a tree. At this moment a voice said: "I am weary, and lonely, and broken-hearted! Will no one hear my cry?"

The tiny dwarf opened its eyes again on hearing these sounds, and when it saw that some one was near, it uttered a short shrill cry and was about to flee again into the shadow. It stopped, though, when it heard the voice a second time: "Oh, do not leave me!"

It was a young and beautiful woman who had spoken, and she spoke farther. "I have everything that money can bring except love and human sympathy, the most priceless things on earth, which all my wealth has not availed to buy. For these I have hungered all my young life. For these I have sought so long that now I have fallen by the wayside, too tired, too faint to go farther."

The fairy seemed frightened for a moment to hear itself thus addressed and thought to run away again. Then it appeared to remember something and, hurrying over, knelt beside the prostrate girl tenderly saying: "Journey no farther, my tired friend, for I will give you gladly

and freely what you are seeking. In overflowing measure I will give to you."

Almost instantly the cloak around the sprite began to change its ugly color for a delicate light blue, and the white thread became a shining silvery band. The little creature, too, appeared to change, for it had grown in size, and its small pinched face became large and beautiful. The midget rose from its kneeling posture, and as it did so, its hands released their clutch upon the cloak, which fell a heap of rags beside the path.

Pointing at them, at last it spoke to me and said: "That was the cloak of selfishness. I have worn it all my life, and I grew smaller and colder in it every day. Sometimes I thought that I should freeze to death, especially when I wrapped it more closely around me. The few white threads that you saw were filaments of humility and altruism. I shall never need the old cloak again, for now I have wrapped about me the love and warmth of the great throbbing world."

With this the elf apparition vanished and in its stead I saw—Impossible! Where am I?—Ah!—In the miraculous forest where one sees truly!—I saw,—only myself!

FREDERICKA C. ZELLER.

Peoria, Ill.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE RENAISSANCE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE NEW WORLD.

The Popular Revolt Against Corporation and Boss-Rule.

ON EVERY side we see signs and evidences multiplying which point most clearly and unmistakably to a return on the part of the people to the old ideals and fundamental principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and cherished by the fathers of this government, but which recreant politicians and privileged interests have in recent years striven so persistently to discredit as a practical political creed. The moral side of American life is awakened and with this awakening is coming a realization of the peril into which our nation had fallen by surrendering to privileged interests, high finance and venal tools of commercial organizations. The people are at last coming to see that corporations, monopolies and privileged classes are the fountain-head of political corruption and treason and of graft and dishonesty in both public and private relations. They have at last been forced to realize that the injustice suffered by the masses from trust extortion, no less than the riot of dishonesty of recent years, cannot be permanently overthrown so long as political machines are subservient to privileged interests, and that nothing short of a fundamental and radical programme will meet the imperative demands of the hour,—a programme that shall embrace (1) high civic standards or a return to the moral idealism of the Declaration of Independence in regard to foreign and domestic political relations; (2) the getting of the government back into the hands of the people, which can be promptly and effectively attained through Direct-Legislation or the Initiative and Referendum complemented by the right of recall; (3) the taking over of public utilities or natural monopolies by the people, thus breaking the backbone of the corrupt alliance of the criminal rich with the conscienceless political boss and money-controlled machine; (4) the imposing of prison sentences only on all great offenders who break the laws enacted to protect the people from extortion and oppression by corporations; (5) radical reform in fiscal

matters which shall render it a criminal offence for great wealth or corporations to shift the burden of taxation onto the mass of the people; and (6) the relegation to the obscurity of private life by the aroused voters of the hirelings and *protégés* of plutocracy, now in high official stations, who have betrayed the people in the interests of their real masters.

The Nation-Wide Enthusiasm for Bryan and La Follette Symptomatic of The Great Popular Awakening.

While, as we have showed in an earlier issue, the sudden profession of love and admiration for Mr. Bryan on the part of those who for years have been his bitterest foes and who represent all that is worst in American political life and all that Mr. Bryan has relentlessly fought for more than a decade, was without doubt mainly a ruse to check the rising tide of radical sentiment that was setting in toward Mr. Hearst, and was started by these patriots for personal revenue for the purpose of dividing the radical forces, the spontaneous and general enthusiasm north and south, east and west, that instantly greeted the call for Mr. Bryan indicated the genuine sentiment of the rank and file of the American people; and so pronounced and unanimous has been this demand that it must have dazed the great Nebraskan's insincere friends.

The general enthusiasm for Mr. Bryan not only proves that the people are absolutely convinced that he is incorruptible, aggressive, fearless and radical, but it also shows how strong and general is the radical sentiment of the nation and how determined are the people to put a stop to the riot of class-legislation that has marked recent years, since privileged interests gained control of the government.

In like manner in the Republican party the name of Robert M. La Follette awakens the same intense popular enthusiasm. No other man in the party begins to call forth the same degree of the old-time moral enthusiasm, because Mr. La Follette in a larger way than any other Republican statesman represents the ideals of Lincoln and that unswerving



Bartholomew, in *Minneapolis Journal*.
"INNOCENCE ABROAD."

loyalty to the interests of the people and the principles of free government that has been the chief power and glory of the Republic in other days.

The Union of The Forces of Civic Righteousness in Pennsylvania.

In Pennsylvania one of the most momentous battles of recent years is now in progress. Here the old Quay machine, manned by Penrose, Durham and other unsavory characters, and sustained by the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Standard Oil interests and all the other corrupt corporations that have been so largely responsible for the unparalleled political prostitution and debauchery that have marked the history of Pennsylvania during the past fifty years, is battling against a united ticket representing the self-respecting and decent elements of the Republican party and the Democratic organization.

It is a subject of deep regret that the influence of President Roosevelt's administration has not been cast on the side of honesty and pure government in this great battle of the people against entrenched corruption and privilege.

John B. Moran and Progressive Democracy in Massachusetts.

In Massachusetts since the Lodge machine has been all-powerful the corporations have had a summer season in the state, while the reactionary Democratic machine of Boston

has proved equally complacent to privileged interests. The press of both parties was also strangely responsive to corporation influence until Mr. Hearst started the *Boston American*. Then the citizens of the old Bay State had one journal that fearlessly fought corporation control in state and municipal affairs. The *American* has revolutionized public sentiment in a very large degree in Massachusetts. It has consistently fought for public-ownership; it has unmasked corruption, graft and iniquity which had for years masqueraded under the robes of ultra-respectability; and it has made possible an effective revolt on the part of the people against corruption, oppression and the continued betrayal of popular interests by a shamefully recreant legislature.

The first fruit of the great awakening which has followed in the wake of the aggressive campaign of the *American* was seen in the unexpected election last autumn of John B. Moran as district-attorney of Boston. The old parties were thunderstruck at the magnificent victory of a man whom the criminal rich could not control; and Mr. Moran has in no wise disappointed the people or proved false to his pledges. Unlike the recreant Jerome of New York, who has screened the rich law-breakers and afforded a clear example of how extremely important it is for the criminal rich to have a man after their own heart as district-attorney, Mr. Moran has without fear or favor aggressively striven to carry out to the letter the requirements of his oath of office. The faithful and aggressive service of Mr. Moran has won to him thousands of the more thoughtful and earnest lovers of clean government who belong to other parties. The Prohibitionists have made him their candidate for governor, and the corporation-owned and controlled wing of the Democratic party is at the present writing in a panic lest it will be unable to prevent the party from naming him as the regular nominee for governor. It is recognized on all sides that he is the only man in the party that would stand any chance of being elected; yet the representatives of the corporations, the grafters and the corruptionists of the regular Democratic machine are actively opposing him. Men like Congressman Sullivan, who voted in Congress for his mileage to and from Massachusetts for the "constructive recess," though he did not leave his seat in Congress during that recess, ex-Congressman Thayer, Mayor Fitzgerald of Boston, and others of

the "safe, and sane," reactionary and corporation element are testifying to their fear of an aggressively honest and incorruptible candidate by their outspoken opposition to him.

On July 15th Mr. Moran issued a manifesto stating that he would run for governor and outlining the platform on which he would run. This manifesto so admirably sets forth many of the conditions and demands of the hour as found not only in Massachusetts, but in the nation as well, that we give it in full.

Moran's Declaration of Principles.

"The honesty and morality of our republic and State rest with the hard-working, law-abiding masses of the people.

"To restore our government to the control of such people is the present function of the Democratic party.

"Recent revelations of the methods of high finance have uncovered the pretences of the powerful hypocrites who have been posing as custodians of the national honor.

"It is our duty to wrest government from the grasp of those jugglers with industry and money who have, out of the toils of labor, drained mighty fortunes through the vile channels of their monopoly, privilege, discrimination, frauds, thefts, poisonings and violence.

"The Democratic party must cut loose from every alliance with the plunderers of the people and bring them to account for wrongs already done.

"Our legal machinery works mercilessly upon the poor and weak, but fails to operate upon open and defiant violations of the law by the rich and powerful.

"To bring back our government to equal justice for all men we must teach wealth to obey the laws or suffer drastic penalties for crime.

"Our candidates, our organization, our platforms, must bend to these purposes without compromise, evasion or pretence.

"Our candidates must be selected, not to gratify personal ambition or provide campaign funds, but solely to restore justice to the people.

"It will no longer suffice to make laws; men with grim purpose and undaunted will must be elected to enforce them.

"To these ends we require:

"A governor, fearless and faithful, resolute and determined, free from alliance with corporations and trusts, uncontrolled by politicians, a servant of the people, recognizing



Carter, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

THIS QUESTION THE NATION MUST SETTLE—RAILROADS AND TRUSTS WILL GOVERN THIS COUNTRY UNLESS THE COUNTRY GOVERNS THEM.

his official obligations and evading none of them, neither skulking behind an unauthorized shield of judges, nor cringing in cowardice at the responsibilities of his office, a man who knows the law and dares to enforce it.

"Direct popular control of the law-making power through the right to veto and create legislation at the polls and to recall faithless legislators.

"The public ownership and operation of public utilities in nation, state and city.

"Eight hours for labor; protection of women and children against overtime work; the absolute, indefeasible right to trial of facts by a jury in equity cases involving labor injunctions.

"Taxation which shall obtain full contributions from wealth and success and bear lightly upon labor and the poor.

"Drastic law against private monopoly with imprisonment penalties only.

"Free hides, free coal, free lumber and free iron.

"Legislation to save Massachusetts manufacturers from their present handicap by unjust tariff on the raw material of their product.

"Fostering international commerce by generous and friendly concessions in the adjust-

ment of our tariff to all nations opening to us their markets for our products.

"Tearing down the tariff walls which intrench monopoly and sustain enormous fortunes exacted from honest labor and flaunted in the face of the toilers by their gross and vicious possessors.

"Stringent laws as to raising of the price of necessities with imprisonment penalties only.

"Laws more just and liberal to the people, providing for the taking of public utility plants.

"The prevention of child-murder by more effective abortion laws.

"Laws providing imprisonment penalties only for wilful negligence by public officials in the performance of their duties.

"Repeal of the legislative agent act and enactment of laws making lobbying a crime with imprisonment penalties only.

"Laws providing for liberation of persons awaiting trial charged with misdemeanors, and of all minors under seventeen years awaiting trial for any crime, in the discretion of the district-attorney, without bail, that the poor and friendless may not suffer unjust and oppressive imprisonment.

"Laws providing that all offenders on whom fines are imposed may in all courts have liberty without bail for a reasonable time in which to earn the fines.

"No corporation or trust tools for the judiciary; that it may be free from the suspicion of being a place of reward for faithlessness to the people.

"Abolishment of capital punishment, that we may no longer be barbarians.

"More restrictive divorce laws that legalized immorality may be lessened.

"Defence of all divorce cases to be conducted by district-attorneys, that collusion extensively practiced now may cease.

"Repeal of legislative immunity act, that criminals may no longer bribe and be bribed with legal impunity.

"That nomination of all candidates for elective office be by direct vote, that the will of the voter may not be thwarted by the purchase and sale of delegates.

"Laws providing that the district-attorneys shall appear for all persons whose liberty is endangered by insanity proceedings, that no person may be confined unjustly.

"Liberal treatment of veterans of the Civil war within the limits of judicially declared law.

"Single-headed commissions, the appointee

to be removable at will of the governor, that corporate subserviency by officials may cease.

"Shorter terms of service for grand jurors, that criminals may not control their action.

"Laws defining what conduct of grand jurors shall be criminal and providing penalties therefor.

"Prohibition, with imprisonment penalties only, of political contributions, directly or indirectly, by corporations.

"Stringent laws against bucket-shops.

"Laws as to employers' liability for accidents more protective of employes.

"Laws providing that judges in setting aside verdicts shall in writing assign the reasons therefor, reviewable by the Supreme Court.

"No interference with legislators except by written message.

"More stringent laws as to receipt, expenditure and accounting of money by campaign committees.

"To the support of this platform, advocated by men who mean to enforce it, will come that irresistible public sentiment which sustained and supported those great leaders of men, Bryan, Hearst and Folk, who in the foreground of political contests battled for Democratic principles."

The Labor Giant Enters The Political Arena.

IN COMMENTING on the successful victory won by the Labor party in England at the last election, we ventured the hope that the inspiring example set by the social reformers of the mother country would be followed by our labor organizations, which had up to that time persistently acted on the advice of the money-controlled political machine managers in the old parties, with the result that labor had ceased to be feared and the rights of the people, both the producing and consuming millions, were more and more becoming subordinated to the selfish interests of the real rulers of the country—the criminal rich, the trust magnates and the public-service chieftains who controlled the party-bosses and machines and who had already manned the government largely with a picked crew known to be loyal to protected interests and therefore to be counted upon in all battles between the people and the trusts and corporations.

Fortunately for the Republic, the victory in England did not awaken our plutocracy

to its peril, else the few crumbs asked for by the American Federation of Labor would have been graciously granted. Instead, when the Federation appealed to Congress for certain just and necessary concessions, Speaker Cannon and his allies who are henchmen of the trusts, monopolies and protected interests took occasion, figuratively speaking, to kick Mr. Gompers and his associates out of Congress, where their presence was offensive to plutocracy and thus considered by the minions of corporate wealth as an intrusion. This last indignity spurred labor to enter politics, and the latter part of July was signalized by the publication of a ringing address to the Labor Union forces of America by the leaders of the American Federation of Labor, urging the workers to go into politics for the purpose of supporting only men pledged to the interests of labor and favorable to Direct-Legislation; and in cases where there was any question as to the loyalty or trustworthiness of the candidates nominated, the Federation urged the naming of independent Labor Union candidates. Mr. Gompers supplemented this address a little later by a speech in New York

City in which he voiced the new declaration of freedom of the bread-winners in an aggressive and statesmanlike utterance.

For several reasons, which space prevents our dwelling upon at present, we do not anticipate any sweeping results at the forthcoming election, but we do predict that several labor members and a number of other nominees distinctly pledged to labor will be elected, and that this election will mark the entrance of a labor wedge in Congress that shall soon become one of the most powerful and helpful influences in our government; for the Labor Unions are pledged to Direct-Legislation and the American ideal in government as opposed to the reactionary, plutocratic, militaristic and imperialistic ideals that have prevailed since the corporations, privileged interests and military advocates have gained ascendancy in the Republic. Therefore we hail with pleasure this most hopeful omen for true democracy—the awakening of the toilers and their unification for the best interests of the wealth-creators and for the protection and maintenance of the cause of free government.

THE PRIVILEGED INTERESTS THAT PREY ON THE PEOPLE, AND THEIR UPHOLDERS.

Further Revelations of The Beef-Trust's Crime Against The People.

MR. ARMOUR, it will be remembered, some months ago, before the President instituted the investigation to substantiate or disprove the statements made by Mr. Sinclair in *The Jungle*, published a sweeping and detailed denial of the charges made against his firm and indulged in no little glorification of the perfection to which the Armour Company had brought all branches of its industry. The paper was evidently intended as an answer not only to Mr. Sinclair, but also to Mr. Charles Russell of *Everybody's Magazine*. Mr. Armour was very insistent in his claim that his works were models of cleanliness and healthfulness and his business a fine example of probity and honesty. If we are to believe him, the public had nothing to fear from bad products or adulterations from the Armour products.

Mr. Upton Sinclair replied to Mr. Armour in *Everybody's Magazine*. His paper was one of the most remarkable contributions that has appeared in recent years,—noteworthy in many respects, but especially remarkable from the fact that the brilliant young novelist sedulously refrained from any form of special pleading or from thrusting his own views or opinions on the public. His paper might have been the carefully prepared brief of an able lawyer, so free was it from everything other than the massing of facts—indisputable facts—and damning evidence which if true should forever bar the guilty not only from the confidence of the meat-consuming public, but also from the society of respectable men and women; and if not true, the publication of such gross and criminal libel should have led to the punishment of the author and publisher.

Nor was this all. Mr. Sinclair supplemented his amazing and terrible indictment



Lorey, in Salt Lake Herald

A DAY IN PACKINGTOWN.

by an open letter to the press and public, calling attention to the indictment and adding that if one-tenth of what he charged was true, Mr. Armour ought to be hanged, and on the other hand, if one-tenth of what he circumstantially charged was false, he should be sent to prison for criminal libel, and he challenged Mr. Armour to test the truth of his charges by bringing the case into the courts.

What answer would an innocent man, charged with the crimes with which Sinclair charged Armour, have made to this terrible indictment scattered all over the land? Would not any man, if he had dared to come into court, have promptly prosecuted the respon-

sible publishers for damages and proceeded against the author for criminal libel? What course did Mr. Armour take? Precisely the same which marked his action after the embalmed-beef scandal, in connection with the frightful mortality among our soldiers during the Spanish war, had aroused the American people and there seemed danger of a genuine investigation. He flooded the country with advertisements of his products—laudatory advertisements that served the double purpose of silencing venal papers and deceiving the unthinking; and this wholesale advertising in the press, by posters and street-car cards is now being supplemented by a truly amazing

pamphlet which is being scattered broadcast.

On July 11th we received one of these pamphlets, on the cover of which was printed in large letters: "Armour's packing-houses are clean. Armour's methods are good." On the same day the Boston papers published the result of an exhaustive examination conducted by Dr. Charles Harrington of the Massachusetts Board of Health as to the quality of leading and much-advertised tinned or canned meat products.

Character of Armour's Canned Goods Officially Exposed.

The investigation proved not only the inferior quality of the Armour products,—not only that they contained *débris*, epidermis, salivary glands and connective tissue, and were in instances bad color and greasy in character, but that corn-meal had been substituted for the muscular tissue which was supposed to be the chief element in the product and which was the principle element in the first-class brands of canned meats, such as those of the Richardson & Robbins Company and of Underwood, for example. The fraudulent introduction of corn-meal in the place of the meat muscle which the defrauded people were supposed to be purchasing, as Dr. Harrington well points out, "adds nothing to the flavor, but it is cheap and enables the meat products to carry considerable water."

The color, which is so tell-tale a characteristic of chicken and turkey products, was in Armour's "Veribest" pronounced by the Massachusetts official to be bad. Here are the reports of Dr. Harrington on the results of his investigation of the Armour "Veribest" and other brands of ham loaf, beef loaf, boned turkey, boned chicken, chicken loaf and potted ox-tongue, which we take from the Boston evening papers of July 11th and the Boston *Herald* of July 12th:

"*Ham Loaf*.—Armour & Company, Chicago. 'Veribest.' Prolonged microscopic examination reveals some muscle; chiefly connective tissue and corn-meal. Preserved with boric acid or borax. The label states that the meat in the package has been inspected in accordance with the provisions of act of Congress of March 3, 1891."

"*Beef Loaf*.—Armour & Company, Chicago. 'Veribest.' Muscle fiber scarce; much corn-meal."

"*Boned Turkey*.—Armour & Company, Chicago. 'Veribest.' Of bad color and

greasy character; contains small fragments of meat, some feathers and large fragments of skin. Quality inferior."

"*Boned Chicken*, instance.—Armour & Company, Chicago. 'Veribest.' Two specimens examined were bad in color and appearance; they contained small fragments of meat and large pieces of skin which contained pin-feathers, fragments of leg-bones and an occasional black feather."

"*Chicken Loaf*.—Armour & Company, Chicago. 'Veribest.' Contains a small amount of muscular fiber, and a large amount of corn-meal."

"*Potted Ox-Tongue*.—Armour & Company, Chicago. Little muscular fiber; chiefly epidermis, salivary gland and corn-meal."

Space forbids our giving the result of Dr. Harrington's examination of the products of other leading firms. For the information of the meat-eating public, however, it is important to note that the only firms mentioned whose goods appeared in this report to be uniformly of excellent quality are the Richardson & Robbins Company of Dover, Delaware, and the William Underwood Company of Boston. The products of the Franco-American Company were also endorsed as either excellent in quality or good; and the poultry products of the Curtice Brothers Company of Rochester, New York, were pronounced of excellent quality.

Wholesale Condemnation of Beef Packers' Meat Products in Pennsylvania.

Dispatches to the Boston *Herald* from Philadelphia, dated June 11th, contained the following news-item relating to the wholesale condemnation of the products of the big meat-packers:

"Inspectors of the bureau of health to-day concluded the condemnation and destruction of 33,000 pounds of impure meats found in the cold-storage plant of the Delaware Freezing Company."

"Pure Food Commissioner Warren says that since the recent crusade against doctored meats in this state twenty-four western Pennsylvania counties have paid \$72,000 in fines for selling adulterated and doctored products of the big meat-packers."

It would be difficult to overestimate the debt which the public owes to the despised "muck-rakers" who have forced this general investigation and the resulting exposure of



R. D. Handy.

bad and adulterated products that were sailing under false pretenses and deceiving and poisoning a confiding public. The destruction of spoilt meat has doubtless saved many valuable lives, while the warning given the public against using the products of men who have forfeited all claim to public confidence by deliberately engaging in fraudulent practices, by the publication of such disclosures as have been made by Messrs. Russell and Sinclair and such official reports as that of Dr. Harrington, will not only save tens of thousands of people from being longer the dupes of the great moral criminals, but they will further aid in educating the public to the importance of driving the great and corrupt corporations out of politics and the enacting of drastic legislation imposing prison penalties on all persons selling diseased, spoilt or adulterated food-products to the people, or who otherwise defraud by false pretences.

Adulterated Food Bearing Government Inspection Stamp.

One of the most sinister facts in Dr. Harrington's report is the misleading character of the labels used by certain of the large packers for some of their products. These labels bore the government's O. K., and yet the products were found to be preserved with chemical poisons and to contain chiefly

adulterations and material other than what the goods pretended to carry.

Thanks to Speaker Cannon and other henchmen of the beef-trust, and in spite of Senator Beveridge and President Roosevelt, the American public is saddled with the burden of a bill of over three million dollars per year for making the beef-trust stop selling diseased, filthy and adulterated products to the public. Yet while the same officials are in office as those under whom the abuses to which we have alluded have taken place, and that were responsible for the filthy and vile conditions exposed by the Neill-Reynolds report, what assurance have we that the same abuses will not continue, in spite of the payment of this enormous sum for work which any honest government, which placed the right and interest of the people above the interests of campaign-contributing and corrupt corporations, would have compelled the beef-trust to pay?

On the sinister aspect of governmental guarantee placed on fraudulent preparations, the *Boston Herald* on July 13th in the course of an extended editorial said:

"Perhaps the most disappointing feature of the report is the announcement that some of the canned goods, which on investigation failed to stand a reasonable test, bore the claim of national inspection. For example, one brand of 'ham loaf' put up at Chicago was shown to be preserved with boric acid or borax, yet the label stated that the meat in the package had been inspected in accordance with the provision of act of Congress of March 3, 1891. Another brand of the same class of goods, also from Chicago, was found to be greatly adulterated, with the same boasting label regarding the inspection of the federal government. Corned beef preserved with either boric acid or borax also had the statement on the can that the contents were inspected under the act of Congress of March 3, 1891. It may not have been true in every case, but it certainly was in a number of instances, that the worst offenders were provided with what might have been accepted as a government stamp of approval. If that proves anything, it is that the federal supervision has been more or less of a farce, and yet this same force of inspectors, somewhat augmented, with the same heads of departments, is to carry out the new federal inspection law which is hailed as the panacea for all the meat-packing evils."

Speaker Cannon as The Friend of Privileged Interests and The Money-Controlled Machines.

A FEW years ago Speaker Cannon by reason of his coarse language won the unsavory nickname of "Foul-mouthed Cannon," but since then he has greatly added to his evil fame, especially during the past winter, by becoming the outspoken and aggressive friend of the privileged interests. During the past winter he, perhaps more than any other man in public life, has stood between the people and the trusts and monopolies, preventing the relief which the former sought from oppression, extortion and corrupt practices. Had we had an aggressively honest patriot pledged to the interests of the people, in the Speaker's chair, there can be no question but what in the temper of the nation at the present time we would have secured laws against corrupt practices in elections, which the Democrats and a large section of the Republican party stood ready to enact if the opportunity had been given them; secondly, labor would have received the reasonable redress which it prayed for; thirdly, there would have been that free and healthy discussion of the tariff question which should mark the deliberations of the House of Representatives when any great vital question in which the people are interested is before the public mind; and in the fourth place, the trusts and the railways would not have received the consideration which they have received in legislation.

Against all these reasonable and important demands Speaker Cannon has placed himself on the side of reaction, of privileged interests and corrupt corporate wealth. He was distinctively the friend of the criminal rich and the oppressor of labor. This was markedly shown in the beef-trust case. The Speaker was one of the first, it is stated, to go to the White House to plead with the President against pushing the Beveridge amendment, and after that amendment had passed in the Senate and went to the House, if the Speaker had held a brief for the beef-trust it is difficult to conceive how he could have worked more vigorously and efficiently for the great criminal organization and against the interests of the people. He, by virtue of his position and his pernicious activity, was more than any other influence in Washington responsible for the saddling on the American people of the enormous sum of three million dollars annually, which should have been paid by



Spencer, in Lincoln (Neb.) Commonwealth.

FACING THE COUNTRY.

the robber beef-trust, but which now must be paid from the earnings of the masses, in order that the beef-trust shall be prevented from endangering public health by feeding the people on diseased, adulterated and filthy products. We believe there is no enlightened nation on the face of the earth, but the United States, where the government would for a moment have considered levying an enormous tax upon the people for the purpose of compelling a private corporation to stop swindling and poisoning the inhabitants.

At almost every point Speaker Cannon has courted the favor of privileged interests in the great battle being waged between the people and the oppressive public-service corporations, monopolies and trusts. He has seemed determined to out-Aldrich Aldrich in his subserviency to the plutocracy. But one thing seemed to be left for him to do in order to win the absolute and enthusiastic favor of all the elements that are working in the interests of the criminal rich and for the subversion of free government, and that was to aid in an efficient manner the corrupt, plundering, money-controlled machines upon which the public-service companies, trusts and monopolies are dependent for their continued domination of government; and from the newspaper reports it appears that he has been quick to embrace the opportunity to add to his evil fame by promising to help the infamous and notoriously corrupt Penrose-Durham machine of Pennsylvania to defeat the friends of pure elections and honest government, led by Mr. Emery of the Lincoln Republican ticket. No

more momentous battle will be fought this autumn than that in Pennsylvania for the redemption of the state from as notorious a band of corruptionists, grafters and thieves as has ever infested a commonwealth. The old Quay machine is being threatened by a revolt led by thousands and tens of thousands of the best citizens of Pennsylvania, who, though in past years they have been loyal to the Republican party, are placing the cause of good government and civic righteousness above the pitiful, hypocritical pretences that the public-service companies, the corrupt monopolies and the corrupt political machine are using as stalking-horses in order to preserve the old and infamous *régime*. If by his aid the enemies of the Republic succeed in defeating the cause of good government, the Speaker will have endeared himself still more to the criminal rich.

On the other hand, his insolent contempt for the reasonable demands of labor have happily aroused the American toilers to a realization that the hope of the workmen lies in exerting their influence at the polls, precisely as plutocracy has for years been exerting its influence; and there is every reason to believe that the deliberate insults that Speaker Cannon and his lieutenants heaped upon the American Federation of Labor during the past winter will mark the beginning of a democratic renaissance in which the principles of free government and the rights of the people will gain ascendancy over the arrogant demands of the feudalism of wealth, and in that event we may hope that at no distant date the Cannons, the Aldriches, the Spooners, the Knoxes, the Penroses, the Forakers, the Drydens, and other henchmen of plutocracy will be relegated to private life.

Secretary Taft's False Witness in Regard to Mr. Bryan and The Trusts.

ONE OF the most startling and shameful facts that has marked the course of many prominent statesmen and officials since the supremacy of corporation-rule and imperialistic ideals in our government, is the recklessness in statement and the lack of all regard for truth evinced on many occasions, and not unfrequently when the allegations made were easily capable of disproval. Perhaps the most flagrant offence in this respect is found in one of Secretary Taft's recent utterances,—an utterance which was part of a statement



Bengough, in the Chicago Public.

A DRESS REHEARSAL.

THEODORE—I can't say I quite care for the style; and, of course, I'm not going to be a candidate anyway—but there's one thing certain beyond all question, that this is going to be the fashion for 1908!

that it is claimed was reviewed and sanctioned by the President, and in which the Secretary stated that "while Mr. Bryan has been most emphatic and eloquent in his description and denunciation of trusts and abuses of corporate organizations and wealth, his suggested remedies for their prompt suppression have been very vague."

No man in America knows better than Secretary Taft, unless it be President Roosevelt, who has so generously appropriated Mr. Bryan's definitely suggested remedies, that this statement is absolutely and unqualifiedly false. One of the chief grievances that the "safe and sane" grafting contingent of the Democratic party has had against Mr. Bryan was that his remedies were so definite and positive that the trusts, monopolies, high financiers and privileged interests in general, who are depended on by the bosses and managers of the money-controlled machine for sufficient capital to systematically defeat the men pledged to the people's interests, would bend every effort to prevent his election. Mr. Bryan was the moving spirit in dictating all the radical planks in the Democratic platforms of 1900 and 1904, and these planks, as Mr. Taft well knows, were merely the brief and succinct statements of remedies that Mr. Bryan before and since their issuance has steadfastly demanded. Here, for example, are four definite remedies proving the falsity of Mr. Taft's deliberate utterance and which were proposed in the Democratic platform:

"First—That the tariff be removed from all



Bengough, in Chicago Public.

THE TALENTED COPYIST.

GRAND OLD GOVERNORS—Beautiful copied, Theodore, darling! And I will add that you seem somehow to have transformed the sentiments (which I have hitherto regarded as odious anarchy) into statesmanlike wisdom!

articles manufactured and controlled by a trust, 'to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection.'

"Second—That all corporations, before being permitted to engage in interstate commerce, be required to secure a federal license, to secure which they must first show that there is no water in their stock, and that they are not trying to monopolize any branch of business; they, if they fail to make such showing, shall not be permitted to engage in interstate commerce, and that they be denied the use of the mails.

"Third—That the laws against trusts and monopolies be strictly enforced, particularly the criminal laws.

"Fourth—That the scope of the interstate commerce law be enlarged so as to enable the commission to protect individuals and communities from discriminations and the public

from unjust and unfair transportation rates."

The Omaha *World-Herald* places Mr. Taft and President Roosevelt in a very uncomfortable position when it challenges "Secretary Taft or President Roosevelt, who endorsed his speech, to point to one single effort either advocated or resorted to by the present administration to suppress the trusts that is not involved in one or all of these remedies long ago urged by Mr. Bryan and the Democratic party."

It might be sufficient answer to Mr. Taft's false statement to reproduce the famous New York *World* cartoon, published by us a short time since, showing Mr. Bryan striving to hide his nakedness with a barrel, his clothes having been bodily appropriated by President Roosevelt who is represented as clad in the various specific remedies for the admitted evils that Mr. Bryan had so vigorously proposed. Certain it is, as the Omaha *World-Herald* well points out, that "every one of the measures which have contributed to make the present administration popular is a measure for which the administration is indebted to Mr. Bryan and the Democratic party."

What confidence can serious and thoughtful persons place in any statement made by a man who so brazenly juggles with facts as does Secretary Taft? The hour has come for the American people to relegate to private life the reckless special-pleaders who seem to have lost all sense of moral proportion, who sneer at high-minded, earnest moral reformers as "parlor Socialists," and who go up and down the country dispensing statements that are so manifestly false as to be an insult to the intelligence of the American nation.

THE NULLIFICATION OF THE ENDS OF FREE GOVERNMENT THROUGH JUDICIAL USURPATIONS IN THE INTERESTS OF CORPORATE WEALTH

A Leading Republican Journal on The Colorado Supreme Court.

WE CALL to mind no instance in the history of our country where judicial usurpation has been so brazen, so indefensible and so subversive of the fundamental demands of free government as that which has been practiced by the Supreme Court of Colorado

since the election on the face of the returns of Alva Adams and his deprivation by a majority vote of the Supreme Court of the office to which, presumably, the people had elevated him.

It will be remembered that on the occasion of this autocratic action of the Supreme Court, one of Senator Patterson's daily papers pub-



Gilbert.

THE HONEST COURT AND ITS HANDMAIDENS.

How the People Would Rejoice Could This Be Realized!

lished a cartoon admirably illustrating conditions in Colorado brought about by the defeat of the will of the people through the arbitrary action of a majority of the Supreme Court. At that time the court went a step further in its attempt to substitute the spirit of Russian despotism for free government, by arresting and attempting to punish Senator Patterson on its ridiculous and indefensible theory of "constructive contempt." This action of the court, which had been widely criticized by the press, was as worthy of Jeffreys and the Star Chamber as it was unworthy of a republican government; while the action of Justice Gabbert and the majority of the Supreme Court, since the last municipal election in Denver, where flagrant fraud was practiced by the corrupt corporations which were bent on obtaining twenty-five million dollars' worth of public franchises, has been such as to arouse the more thoughtful people of various parties to the imminent peril of permitting such conditions. Here the Supreme Court of a commonwealth has nullified every effort of the judges of the lower courts

and the Honest Election League to properly investigate the frauds. If there had been no frauds committed whose investigation would have invalidated the elections and prevented the corrupt public-service companies from seizing the enormously rich franchises, there would have been no objection whatever to investigation. On the other hand, the corporations would naturally have welcomed the investigation, because they must know that with the evidences so strongly pointing to their obtaining their rights by fraud, the people will at no distant date in all probability declare all these claims invalid; whereas if an investigation had been had at the present time and it had been shown that the corporations had not stolen the election, the concessions would have been secured to them. But the enormous mass of evidence proving fraud to have been committed, and the desperate fight which the corporations have made to prevent any investigation of the frauds, indicate clearly that they know that the election was stolen and dare not face an investigation which in all probability would land many men now in

broadcloth in striped garments. The investigation was only prevented through the action of the Supreme Court of Colorado.

Among the great papers which have in a most outspoken manner recently condemned the usurpations of this court is the *Minneapolis Journal*, one of the leading Republican dailies of the Northwest. This paper quotes the following declaration of Judge Mullins, who but for the kindly interference of the Supreme Court in the interests of the corrupt franchise corporations, would have investigated the frauds:

"The showing of the Honest Elections league was such as to warrant the court in finding that the grossest frauds were committed on election day of May 15th last; that a bold and brazen attempt was made to steal the election, and on the face of the returns succeeded by the debauching of the ballot-boxes and the corruption of public officials in stealing valuable assets of the community; that public officials charged with the ferreting out of crime and the punishment of criminals were either parties to this outrage or were so negligent in the discharge of their duties as to make them *particeps criminis*."

In commenting on this phase of the battle between the friends of honest elections on the one hand and the franchise corporations and the Supreme Court on the other, the *Journal* says:

"Judge Mullins had previously attempted to call this grand jury and had, for reasons sufficient to himself, deposed the district-attorney and appointed special counsel to conduct the investigation. The district-attorney went to the Supreme Court for a writ of prohibition stopping Judge Mullins from further proceedings—as had already been done with Judge Johnson, another judge who attempted to take testimony as to frauds—and got it. But Judge Mullins refused to be prohibited. He has renewed his war on fraud, despite the Supreme Court, and proposes to get to the bottom of the matter, even though he cannot claim 'royal descent from the court of king's bench,' as the Supreme Court claims.

"The contest between the courts of Colorado illustrates how far a court may travel from its duty when it wants to find an excuse for covering up malfeasance. The Supreme Court of the state passed over the fact that raids might have been committed and gave

injury done to the public in the voting and based its decision on the narrow ground that it alone had the power to initiate such proceedings as were contemplated by Judge Mullins. At the same time, the Supreme Court knew that the mistake of Judge Mullins, if he had made one, was merely one of assuming jurisdiction. It was willing, apparently, that the fraud might be perfected and the criminals walk off with the spoils while the two courts wrangled over a matter of precedence. This is the handiest kind of a court for a thieving corporation to have at its elbow."

A Great Law Journal Arraigns The Colorado Supreme Court.

PERHAPS the most important detailed arraignment of the Supreme Court and criticism of the appalling judicial conditions and evils now rampant in Colorado, is the following clear uncovering of the absolutely indefensible position of the court by the thoughtful editor of the very influential and widely circulated legal publication, *The Central Law Journal* of St. Louis, Missouri. In its issue of July 18th the editor says:

"We have taken opportunity on many occasions recently to exercise the high prerogative of a national law-journal to criticise the decisions of courts of last resort wherever we believe such courts have departed from the pure reason and logic of the law and have allowed the rush of business, the peculiarly hard circumstances of the particular case, or the influence of political affiliations, to drive them into error, for which not only they themselves but members of the bar must also suffer. For such decisions are like two-edged swords, they come back to smite friend as well as foe and throw the whole system of jurisprudence of a state into confusion.

"There has resulted such a condition in the State of Colorado, and the *Supreme Court of that state*, by reason of a gross error committed in the interest of a political party with which the majority of the court are in close affiliation, has been confronted with the attempted application of the erroneous principle thus announced under circumstances never conceived of and has served to bring down upon that court the wrath and disgust of both the profession and the people of Colorado. Instead of receding from their former erroneous position gracefully they clumsily endeavored, in the recent decision to which we refer, to distinguish condi-

tions which are exactly similar principles of law and thus 'worse confound confusion.' This decision also naturally lays the members of the court open to the charge, however unfounded, that they are under the control of the influences in whose favor each decision was practically rendered.

"The story is still fresh in the public mind how the Hon. Alva Adams, elected on the face of the returns as Governor of Colorado, was practically deprived of the fruits of the election by the Supreme Court of that state in drawing to itself and actually exercising a jurisdiction which it was never intended it should possess, i. e., that of controlling elections and passing *sua sponte* and practically *ex parte* on questions of fraud in such election. This case was the celebrated so-called 'Tool case,' in which the Supreme Court took the unprecedented action of assuming charge of an election, through a high writ of injunction, and punishing alleged ballot stuffers with jail sentences for contempt of court—and throwing out entire precincts on the ground that frauds had been committed therein. On the face of things, the decision was at once condemned by all members of the bar.

... Recently, however, a district court of the city of Denver, presided over by Judge Frank T. Johnson, correctly presuming that his court, being a court of general jurisdiction, could exercise any original jurisdiction claimed and exercised by the appellate court of his state, presumed to exercise the power to control elections with respect to a local election in the city of Denver held to declare the public will on the granting of certain franchises. By issuing blanket injunctions against fraudulent voting by corporation hirelings, Judge Johnson on the day after the election, on proceedings as for contempt, proceeds to hear evidence as to fraudulent voting and was on the point of filling up the jail of the city of Denver with many prominent politicians and of reversing the *prima facie* result of the election when he was suddenly halted in his wild career by a writ of prohibition from the Supreme Court. The writ of prohibition was very properly granted. Judge Johnson was exercising a jurisdiction which no state has thought wise to confer on the judiciary, but the fault did not lie with Judge Johnson, but with the Supreme Court itself in attempting to exercise such a power itself. For if the Supreme Court of a state can exercise any original jurisdiction not specially conferred upon it exclusively, a court of general juris-



Carpenter, in Denver News.

THE NEW JUDICIAL THRONE.

THE COURT—I am the king. I rest my right on royal prerogative. Who dare assail my acts with my valiant generals surrounding me?

diction has *ipso facto* the same jurisdiction; as such courts, in Colorado, as in all other states, have jurisdiction 'in all cases of law and equity,' and appellate courts where they are given original jurisdiction, as they are in Colorado and many other states, to issue writs of injunction, mandamus, prohibition and other remedial writs, cannot presume that such jurisdiction is exclusive, or confers on them any powers not already possessed by courts of general jurisdiction throughout the state.

"Where the Supreme Court has seriously blundered, and that without any extenuating circumstances, is in its failure to confess its error in the 'Tool case' and in arrogantly assuming that they themselves had an exclusive right to directly supervise all the elections of the state without let or hindrance by the exercise of what they are pleased to call the 'high prerogative writ of injunction,' while other courts of general jurisdiction throughout the state have no such power. The argument by which the court reaches this absurd conclusion is replete with references to the com-

mon law dating from a period of English history when the King and his Star Chamber exercised 'prerogative writs' in a manner which would not be tolerated for a moment in any state in the union.

"The point of this whole controversy was not hidden from the Supreme Court of Colorado, and they must necessarily have closed their eyes to the light, for that able attorney, Hon. Edward P. Costigan, representing the lower court, clearly pointed out to the Supreme Court that it could not possess any original jurisdiction not possessed by the district courts.

... Two of the members of the Colorado Supreme Court, to-wit, Justices Steele and Gunter, clearly perceived the ridiculousness of the position assumed by the majority of the court and were apparently disgusted at the puerile argument of the majority. Justice Steele, speaking for himself and Justice Gunter, dissented from the decision in the principal case, as he did from the decision in the 'Tool case,' and in his dissenting opinion agrees with the contention of Mr. Costigan that while no precedent existed for the 'Tool case,'

nevertheless, until reversed, it was the law. This is the exact language of Justice Steele: 'The "Tool case" declared that it was within the power of a court of equity to supervise elections by injunction. As the constitution clothes the district court with original jurisdiction of all causes of law and equity, when this court holds that it alone has the power of supervising elections, it arrogates to itself an exclusiveness expressly disavowed in many of its opinions and assumes a superiority denied it by the constitution.'

"Several prominent members of the bar of Colorado have written us deploring the situation and requesting our assistance in finding a way out of this judicial dilemma. We regret that we can go no further than to express our deep sympathy with the endeavors of the members of the bar of the State of Colorado to correct the appalling judicial conditions now existing in that state and to assure them that the power of a united profession, if properly exercised, will very promptly and effectually correct the existing evils and give to the state an appellate judiciary of which it needs not be ashamed."

THE WORLD BEYOND OUR BORDERS.

Extension of Municipal Trading in Old-World Cities.

SOME time since, in a personal letter the Hon. Frederic C. Howe, author of *The City the Hope of Democracy*, wrote us that he believed that in addition to municipal-ownership of such public utilities as water, light and transportation, it would be wise and necessary in many instances for the municipalities to take charge of the supply of such commodities as fuel, milk and ice. Especially would this be advisable in cases where trusts and combinations sought to levy extortionate charges or where the health of the community could be better safeguarded by complete municipal supervision.

These advance steps we believe will be taken at no distant day, in spite of the desperate efforts being made by thieving corporations to convince the public that it is better for the community to submit to systematic, persistent and wholesale robbery in order that a few citizens can acquire millions upon millions of

dollars as the fruit of indirection and extortion, though through the continuation of this oppression the municipal government is being vitally enervated through systematic corruption on the part of the corporations that enjoy monopoly rights and are dominated by avarice.

The result of the municipalities taking over the water supply has been so eminently satisfactory that there are few critics to-day who have the hardihood to advocate a return to private corporate control. Equally satisfactory has been each extension of municipal service in Old World cities. New Zealand, by extending state ownership and operation to the coal mines, has already protected her citizens from the extortion of the coal-barons and saved them vast sums of money that otherwise would have been diverted into the pockets of the few. Several European cities have steadily enlarged their municipal functions during recent decades, establishing municipal plants for handling such commodities as milk, meat and bread, and at every step the wisdom

of such a course has been so amply vindicated that opposition has steadily decreased. This has been notably the case in English and German municipalities, and now comes the report of a similar success in Sicily.

Unqualified Success of Municipal Bakeries in Sicily.

Press dispatches from Rome to American papers, dated July 21st, contain the following interesting reports of the successful extension of municipal functions in regard to the manufacture and disbursement of one of the great staples of life:

"Municipal ownership has proved a great success in the city of Catania, Sicily, where four years ago the municipality found it advisable to establish a municipal bakery because of dissensions between master-bakers and workmen which often deprived the population of the necessary amount of bread.

"Since then the ovens have been increased from eighteen to sixty-two and the price of bread has been reduced to one and a half cents a pound. The city now employs 538 workmen, all well paid, and it daily produces 140,000 pounds of bread.

"Many other Sicilian cities have now adopted the experiment with great success, among them Palermo and Messina.

"It is now intended to obtain from the Italian government a concession to create under municipal ownership butcher shops, milk farms and ice factories, and to manage the distribution of gas and electricity and the street cars under the same system.

"There is also a plan to have the municipalities run their own theaters and even saloons."

The Vindication of Dreyfus.

IN NO recent act has France displayed more moral courage than in instructing the supreme court of the nation to carefully sift the evidence in the Dreyfus case and render a decision in accordance with the facts. The court also deserves the thanks of the lovers of justice and humanity everywhere for its painstaking labors which forced it to conclude that Dreyfus was entirely innocent of the heinous crimes of which he was accused, and which revealed the fact that he was made the deliberate victim of the forgeries and perjuries of reactionary interests and unscrupulous individuals.



Macauley, in *New York World*.

UNSHACKLED.

The case of Dreyfus affords one of those curious instances in history wherein the victim of injustice becomes the instrument in the hands of an inscrutable fate for the restoration and salvation of a nation when in deadly peril. It would be difficult to exaggerate the deadly danger that menaced France at the time when this young Jewish officer was arrested, brutally insulted and condemned, first to death and later to life imprisonment in a fever-infested and lonely island, far from home and civilization. For several years prior to this outrage the monarchical, military and reactionary clerical influences in France had been working in perfect unison to completely capture the army, to entrench themselves in government in its various other branches and to destroy the power and efficiency of the free schools of France while building up again the old religious orders which in the monarchical and despotic ages had been only second to the throne in power. Step by step, silently and persistently, this reactionary movement was pressed forward, and at every step the government became more timid. But one thing seemed to be necessary in order that the spirit of democracy should be put in full retreat, and that was that the religious prejudices of the people should be aroused along racial lines, so that Jews, from whom the reactionary clericals

could gain no aid nor comfort, and the discontented laboring men and the *bourgeoisie* who were becoming more and more restless over the growing arrogance of the military and clerical influences, should be put at swords points, so to speak. This would render any union of the liberal forces impossible. It would arouse again the unreasoning fervor for the church among many who were then loudly condemning many actions of the more reactionary element.

Hence Dreyfus, the Jew, was selected as the victim and from one end of France to the other every reactionary agency opened its batteries against the Jews. Precisely the same tactics were employed as have for years been employed in Russia in order to set the peasants and the unthinking masses against the Hebrews of that country. For a time all went as the reactionaries desired, but the friends of justice, freedom and right, though apparently in a hopeless minority, were imbued with that splendid moral courage which has been the spiritual fulcrum of the ages. Persistently, determinedly and at the peril of their own lives and standing in society, they attacked the findings of the army and demanded justice and a fair trial for Dreyfus.

For a time it seemed as if the government would be successful in its effort to stifle investigation, but in the very darkest hour Emile Zola, the novelist who in recent years had become also a great social reformer, deliberately risked freedom, property and popularity in the defence of the defenceless one. His powerful denunciation of the infamy of the government, in his famous manifesto entitled *I Accuse!* electrified the friends of truth and justice throughout the world. For a time the great French novelist was the victim of the alarmed government no less than the inflamed and deceived populace. But his denunciation had done its work. The case had been stated so clearly, so forcibly and so convincingly that the conscience of civilization imperatively demanded a review of the charges. From that date the reactionaries lost their hold on the government. The republican spirit reasserted itself. It was as if democracy were born again, and from the hour when France was great enough to admit a possible mistake and to take steps to rectify it, she has faced the morning. From that hour she has trodden uninterruptedly the highway of democracy and freedom. Zola has been vin-



Jack, in Pueblo Star-Journal.

DREYFUS VICTORIOUS AND VINDICATED.

Now that Captain Dreyfus has killed the Dragon, the French should carefully destroy its eggs in the War Department.

dicated, Dreyfus has been vindicated, and France has arisen from her humiliation and shame morally greater than ever before.

True, the wrong can never be wholly righted, but the nation is doing all in its power to atone. Dreyfus has not only been restored and promoted, the Chamber has not only voted him the Medal of the Legion of Honor, but he has been given command of the artillery corps stationed at Vincennes, which is in charge during governmental functions,—the most envied position in the army. Colonel Picquart has also been restored to the army and promoted, while parliament has voted to transfer the body of Zola to the Pantheon.

Such brave action on the part of a government in acknowledging wrongs done and in making such reparation as is now possible, is an inspiration to all friends of human progress and enlightenment, and it cannot fail to greatly raise France in the regard of all lovers of truth, justice and freedom.

Russia Again in The Shadow of Medieval Despotism.

THE CZAR has again surrendered to the unhuman bureaucrats, proved faithless to his rescript of October, and has dissolved the Douma after the reactionaries had vainly striven to make the popular body merely a

Warren, in *Boston Herald*.

THE MODERN AJAX.

craven tool for the despots or to exasperate its members until they should commit some act that would give an excuse for the Czar to act as he desired.

At the assembling of the parliament the Czar proved false to his former pledges by the issuance of what he termed the "fundamental law"—declarations aimed to take away the fundamental rights which he had guaranteed to the people in his former pledge given at the time when he was terrified lest the revolution should deprive him of his throne; and the inexcusable dissolving of parliament affords a further exhibition of the utter insincerity and untrustworthy character of the present Czar.

The Douma had exhibited a remarkable degree of firmness, moderation and aggressive courage that must have surprised and disappointed the upholders of reaction. The constitutional democrats, the revolutionary Socialists and the peasants also failed to fall upon one another, as had been confidently predicted by the upholders of autocracy. The surprising and statesmanlike attitude of the parliament left but two courses open to the Czar: either to be true to his own pledged word, to place himself at the head of a truly constitutional government such as he had promised the people, or to autocratically dissolve the parliament. He elected the latter course, and a reign of repression and despotism has set in much the same as that which

marked the administration of Von Plehve before his assassination.

The Douma, with a spirit that suggests the magnificent heroism of our own patriot leaders in the early days of our Revolutionary struggle, issued from Viborg, Finland, a challenge to the irresponsible autocracy in an address to the people in which they urged the Russians not to pay taxes or to enter the army so long as the government was false to its pledge.

The Czar has placed himself in the hands of the inhumanly brutal and reactionary Trepoff. Hence there is nothing to be hoped for on the part of the friends of freedom through peaceful methods, and we misjudge the Russian populace if, after their brief taste of the rights of government enjoyed by all civilized nations, they abandon the cause of freedom and submit supinely to an intolerable despotism.

If a reign of violence ensues, if bombs are exploded and assassinations become frequent, the Czar and his reactionary advisers will be responsible for the anarchal condition. They have invited it. They have betrayed their nation, proved recreant to the cause of civilization and should be one and all apprehended and committed to hard labor in the salt mines of Siberia for a term of years, in order that they may partially atone for the crimes which they have committed against their nation and her noblest sons.

Macauley, in *New York World*.

WHICH?

Mr. Markham's Noble Poem on Russia.

SPEAKING of Russia reminds us of Edwin Markham's latest poem which appeared in the July issue of *Appleton's Magazine*. It is marked by the noble imagery and stately rhythm that characterize in so eminent a degree the verse of this greatest of living democratic bards. So fine is this poem that we reproduce two stanzas:

"Rise, Russia, to the great hour rise:
The dead are looking from the skies!
And God's hand, terrible with light,
Upbreaching from the arctic night,
Writes on the North with torch of fire—
Writes in one word the world's desire—

Writes awfully the Word of Man
Across the vast auroral span—
Writes 'Freedom!' that shall topple kings
And shake to dust their treasonings.

This is the hour; awake, arise!
A whisper on the Volga flies;
A wild hope on the Baltic leaps,
A terror over the Neva creeps;
A joy is on the trail that goes
Reddening the white Siberian snows;
The cliffs of Caucasus are stirred
With the glad wonder of a word;
The white wave of the Caspian speaks
And Ural answers from her peaks.
The Kremlin bells in all their towers
Wait trembling for the Hour of hours,
When they shall cry the People's will—
Cry Marathon and Bunker Hill!"

PRIME-MINISTER WARD ON NEW ZEALAND'S PROGRESS

Sir Joseph Ward: The New Prime-Minister of New Zealand.

DURING his recent visit to our country en route for his home, Sir Joseph Ward, who since the untimely death of Premier Seddon early in June has been chosen Prime-Minister of New Zealand, rendered an important service to the cause of free and just government in our Republic by giving a clear and succinct description of the remarkable progress of his island commonwealth under the Liberal progressive democratic government which, coming into power in 1891, has transformed the country, lifting it to a degree of prosperity enjoyed by few if any governments on the face of the earth, achieving this by frankly making the interest, happiness, progress and development of all the people the master-concern of the state and insisting that the magic slogan of democracy—equality of opportunities and of rights—shall be a living reality instead of a barren cry employed to divert popular attention from inequality born of privilege.

The new Prime-Minister has been in public life for over thirty years. He was long one of Mr. Seddon's most efficient aids in the cabinet and was one of the chief promoters of government ownership and operation of public utilities. His conspicuous service to his commonwealth, his great reputation as a constructive statesman and the confidence reposed in him by his people make his views

of special value. He knows whereof he speaks and if his prejudices are naturally favorable to the social advance movements of New Zealand in the promotion of which he has been so efficient and important a factor, they are shared by the vast majority of his countrymen, as was clearly shown by the overwhelming victory for his party won at the last election—a victory so sweeping as to almost obliterate all opposition.

On the eve of his departure for his home, Prime-Minister Ward gave our people, through the *New York American*, a statement of the actual results that have followed public-ownership and operation of natural monopolies, and also a brief description of some of the radical innovations by the progressive party of New Zealand during the last fifteen years, which constitutes the latest authoritative word about this progressive commonwealth; and though most of the points touched upon have already been luminously reported by Professor Frank Parsons in his monumental *Story of New Zealand*, and also in the two fine works written by the late Henry D. Lloyd after his extensive personal investigations in New Zealand, this latest report is of special worth, not merely because Sir Joseph fully confirms the statements and conclusions of these writers, but also because his statements are the well-weighed words of one of the foremost living statesmen of Australasia and constitute the verdict of a man who possesses the most in-

timate knowledge of the actual conditions in New Zealand.

Practical Results of Public Ownership in New Zealand.

In discussing the railways, Sir Joseph said that his government holds that "it is in the truest interests of our country to keep the rates down, and we make concessions to all classes of users of the railways. . . . It is sound policy to utilize our railways to help every class to build up industries; to assist agriculturists to ship to and from the seaboard at low rates, and to insure travel at low fares. . . . For upward of thirty years the government has controlled the railways, with a few exceptions at one time; that is, four or five railway companies were run by public corporations, but with one exception they have all been purchased by the government and have formed part of the state railway system for a number of years.

"There is now only one line of railway, with a mileage of between seventy and eighty miles, that is owned by a public corporation. It runs almost parallel with the government section of railways, some eighty miles apart. The colony has the right to purchase this line by arbitration.

"The right has not been availed of for the good reason that a privately-owned railway is bound by agreement with the colony to reduce its rates to the same as that of the government railways whenever reductions take place. In other words, they cannot charge a higher rate than that upon the government line, so that practically it is equivalent to being a state-owned railway. The railways have worked excellently under state control. There are two to three thousand miles in operation, employing between nine and ten thousand men and boys, and no women excepting those in charge of the rooms for women.

"The system has kept rates down to the lowest point, to insure the greatest advantage and the all-important one of assisting in the development of the country wherever railways traverse. We have eighteen lines in course of construction. The people would not give authority for the sale of the railways even if three times the value of construction or any sum were offered.

"The railways have stood the test of some thirty years and are kept in magnificent order, as is the rolling stock. . . .

"On these assets some 23,000,000 pounds

of money have been expended. The lines meet every condition. There is uniformity of charge for every section; there is no concession for the largest users as against the smallest. We have a publicly-gazetted tariff and no rebates are admitted."

"We have," says Sir Joseph, "owned the whole of the telegraphic and telephone systems ever since the country has had a responsible government."

Notable Example of Extension of Government Functions in The Interests of All The People.

It was Gladstone, we believe, who on one occasion said in substance that the true function of a government was to make it easy for the citizens to do right and difficult for them to do wrong. New Zealand has not only adopted this ideal, but has somewhat enlarged upon it, until it comprehends the settled policy of aiding every citizen who desires to succeed to become free, independent, prosperous and normally happy, by helping him in a wise and judicious manner and protecting him from the harpies of privilege that have in all ages enslaved the masses through force, craft, injustice or indirection. To safeguard the interests of the people, the government founded a state life-insurance department. It did not forbid or hamper other companies, but behind the state insurance stands the credit of the commonwealth, and thus the citizens who might with reason hesitate to pay their hard-earned money to companies operated by irresponsible individuals or corporations, feel perfectly safe in taking out a policy backed by the credit of New Zealand. This department, Premier Ward assures us, has proved "a very great success; the profits are invested for the benefit of the insurers, and none of the financial results are in any way claimed or owned by the government."

Seeing the people the victims of the coal-owning corporations and noting that the price of coal was raised to a rate higher than what was necessary in order to insure a reasonable profit on the investments, the government purchased coal mines and furnished coal at a just or reasonable price, thus compelling the individual coal operators to lower the price to what was fair and equitable.

One of the greatest disadvantages that the poor who are struggling to gain a home and independent condition in life have to contend with is the money-lender, who ever levies a

rate of interest as high as he can exact without coming clearly under the penalties for usury which laws against extortion impose. It has been the settled policy of New Zealand to aid in so far as possible every citizen to secure a home for himself and family; and appreciating the difficulty the poor had in securing money, through the unfair advantages taken by the money-changers, the parliament has, as Sir Joseph Ward points out, "established a government lending department, for advancing money to settlers. This has lowered the rate of interest on mortgages. The department has loaned upward of £5,000,000 without a single loss. We have," he adds, "a government post-office savings-bank, for deposits of any sum, and there is more than £8,800,000 sterling in this savings-bank. There have been no losses with investments by the post-office, which must be in state or other gilt-edge securities.

"The state provides a public trustee department, in which people lodge their wills or make disposition of their property, which is administered by this department. If any estate in the hands of the public trustee for the benefit of children, wife or family were maladministered the colony would be responsible.

"All of these departments are under control of an auditing department of statutory officers; their salaries cannot be reduced and their decisions cannot be reversed or interfered with.

"The control by the state of these departments years ago passed the experimental stage. They have been in every way a success, and I believe there is no one in our country who can put through legislation to dispense with any of these public utilities departments, which have been carried on for the benefit of the people of all classes."

The statesmen of New Zealand believe that it is the duty of the government to prevent enslavement of the toilers and the existence of conditions which will endanger the physical or moral health of the people. To meet abuses that were present, laws were enacted for the protection of the factory employes. Of this act the Prime-Minister observes:

"We introduced drastic legislation governing factories, stipulated for proper sanitary conditions and continuous inspection.

"We fix the number of hours per week that employes can work, making heavy fines for violations. At first this was opposed by some

employers, but others supported it warmly, and every intelligent person recognized that if all factory-owners were put upon the same footing they had an opportunity of fair competition. The humane employer would not subject his employes to a sweating either in pay or hours."

Radical Fiscal Reforms.

"Perhaps nowhere has New Zealand displayed such a splendid degree of courage and wisdom as in her radical measures for raising necessary taxation. In our country the burden of taxation is very largely shifted by the over-rich corporations and the multi-millionaires to the backs of the laborers and persons of moderate means. One of the greatest scandals of the present in the United States is found in the way the multi-millionaires annually swear off their taxes, and if taxes even approximating the ratio the poor man pays are levied, these lords of privilege and monopoly move to another city or state where officials are more accommodating. Even more scandalous is the way in which the great public-service corporations evade just taxation. But New Zealand's statesmen refused to surrender the interests of the people to the avarice, dishonesty and cupidity of the few over-rich and privileged men and interests. They determined to arrange a system of taxation which it was believed would be more just and fair than has existed in any previous commonwealth. Under this system the government taxes land values, irrespective of improvements, and it complements this tax with graduated land and income taxes.

The Land-Value Tax.

In speaking of the land tax Sir Joseph says:

"We have spread the functions of the state materially. In 1891 we changed the fiscal system; we abolished the system of taxation that relieved those who held considerable interest in the colony from contributing their full share of taxation, and established a graduated land and income tax.

"We exempt all improvements from taxation. This is an incentive to the holders of land to make improvements, and gives a widespread employment. It has worked well, and in building there has been almost a revolution. Old places have been pulled down and new ones have gone up.

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"The rate of ordinary land taxation is a penny a pound, and we have a graduated tax, increasing one-sixteenth of a penny a pound when the value is £5,000 and less than £7,000, and then that rate increases with the value of the property with a maximum of three pence to the pound, which is payable when the value is £210,000, or exceeds that sum."

Graduated Income Tax.

In explaining the graduated income tax the Prime-Minister said:

"A man who has an income up to £300 pays no income tax; a man who has an income of £1,000 pays a tax of sixpence on the pound, and one shilling per pound on any excess of £1,000,

"This is intended to relieve the worker from contributing taxation under this head. It is in our country one of those anomalies of the human system that the larger families generally are to be found among those receiving the smallest incomes, and to meet this we put it into shape that relief should be given to the smallest wage-earner."

The Settled Ideal of New Zealand's Statesmen.

The settled ideal of New Zealand's progressive democratic statesmen as explained by the

new Premier is the leveling up of the people by laws enacted with an eye single to justice and the greatest good for all.

"We do not, as a government or as a people, do anything in the direction of trying to level people down. Our laws affecting the regeneration of our country have gone toward making a purer and a better condition.

"Our people give equal opportunity to all, in every walk of life, to better their conditions without doing it at the expense of the many; the laws have been intended to improve their positions. They are democrats in the truest sense of the term."

The more one studies the steady progress by the step-by-step method pursued by the statesmen of New Zealand, especially during the past fifteen years, the more his admiration will be excited for the men who have placed the New England of the Southern Seas in the very van of the progressive nations of the civilized world, and the more the high-minded patriot is inspired to work for similar political, social and economic advance movements in our country, which shall break the imperial sway of class and privileged interests, destroy the power of corrupt plutocracy and the venal boss, and bring the government back into the hands of the people.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ALIEN INTO THE AMERICAN CITIZEN.*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I. A MIRACLE IN SOCIOLOGY.

THE WORLDS of science and invention are not the only wonder-realms where seeming miracles are being wrought beneath the hurried gaze of our advancing civilization. Even in so apparently unpromising a field as sociology there are miracles to be seen by the serious-minded who study the changing pattern of life as the shuttle of time weaves the fabric of civilization; and perhaps nowhere and at no time has there been presented a greater marvel than the rapid transformation and the marvelous general uplift observable

in the lives of a large number of those who flee to our land from shores where despotism, oppression or biting poverty have darkened every window of hope that opens upon the fatherland. To these despairing ones for whom all avenues of escape are closed in the Old World, America is as a great beacon whose lamp of hope is perpetually beckoning them to brave the terrors of the deep and find a new life in the New World. To reach the land of Washington and Jefferson becomes the master-thought by day and the rose-colored dream by night.

We who have been recreant to the faith and the ideals of the fathers are wont to dwell morbidly upon the evil element that neces-

*The Life-Stories of Undistinguished Americans as Told by Themselves. Edited by Hamilton Holt. Cloth. Pp. 300. New York: James Pott & Company.

sarily comes with the mighty tide of life that is annually swept upon our shores, and true it is that capitalism in its greed has drawn to America many very undesirable elements. But from the sturdy and brave-hearted who of their own initiative seek our shores, far more of good than evil will be realized by the Republic, if we are true to our high mission and if the immigrants do not fall the victims of the corrupting influences of those who pose as leaders and who have the power to make or mar the plastic clay that comes to us with child-like mind and with the strength and virility of generations of sturdy peasant ancestry.

A work has recently appeared bearing the title of *The Life-Stories of Undistinguished Americans*, that will help us to gain a clear and faithful idea of the wonderful transformation by which the serf of Russia, the peasant of ice-locked Scandinavia and of vine-clad Greece, the beggar boy of Naples, and other struggling ones who are under the wheel in many lands are by the alchemy of freedom and opportunity found in our Republic changed into self-respecting and worthy citizens of a great nation.

The chapters of this volume originally appeared in the *New York Independent*, and they have now been gathered together and edited by Mr. Hamilton Holt, the able managing editor of that journal. Though set down as biographical, they are autobiographical in character, being the life-stories as told by the different subjects, their peculiar phrasing being preserved as far as possible, although of course errors of speech and composition have been changed to conform to good usage. Although, as we shall presently see, the volume contains more life-stories than those which reveal "Americans in the making," the part of the work that is of special interest and value to our people, and especially to young men and women, is the pen-pictures of the serfs, the peasants and other unfortunates of the Old World who have come to this land unaided and penniless, often knowing nothing of our language, and yet have climbed to independence and success; for they cannot fail to spur our youths to nobler endeavor and strengthen and inspire many a drifting life that sees what those who have everything apparently against them have achieved and are achieving at our very door.

For the value of the lessons and the inspiration found in these simple lives, we select

four stories that are typical of the lives of thousands and tens of thousands of poor immigrants who reach our shores during every decade and who become integral parts of the composite Republic.

II. THE STORY OF A SWEDISH PEASANT.

The Scandinavians have long since proved themselves to be among the most thrifty, enterprising, industrious and successful of the foreigners who become citizens, and what is more, they make a highly desirable element, being honorable, sturdy and valuable members of society. The story here given of a Swedish farmer-boy might be duplicated, with slight variations, in thousands of instances, and is one of the most interesting and helpfully suggestive chapters of the volume. The subject, Axel Jarlson by name, describes at length the conditions that drove his brother to the New World and how his success led others of the family to achieve a like victory in the great Northwest.

The Jarlsons lived two hundred miles north of Stockholm in Sweden. They cultivated a small piece of land, had two cows, and by hard work during the open season on the land they tilled and on other farms, supplemented by wood-carving, cabinet-making, knitting and weaving in the winter, the family was able to eke out a precarious existence, always on the verge of want; but so long as they enjoyed health they managed to remain free from debt. At length the father and mother fell ill, and dark days came upon them. Their two cows were sold,—a serious loss, as it deprived them of an important food-supply and one of their few sources of financial revenue. They lived for a whole winter on black bread and potato gruel, with once in a while a herring, but even with such rigid economy they fell into debt and there seemed no possible way out from the abyss of want and wretchedness, until an uncle, a mate on a vessel sailing between Gothenburg and New York, urged them to send one of the boys to America, and offered to pay his passage to Minnesota if he would go. The uncle told a wonder-story of that land of opportunity over the sea, where able-bodied Swedes were rapidly growing rich and where all the willing workers earned many times as much as was possible in Sweden. The village schoolmaster also told them of many Swedes who were peasants in the Old World, but in America they had risen to great

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positions, being high officials and men of as great influence as "lords in the Old World."

"So at last," says the young Swede, "it was decided that my brother was to go to America, and we spent the last day bidding him good-bye, as if we should never see him again. My mother and sisters cried a great deal, and begged him to write; my father told him not to forget us in that far-off country, but to do right and all would be well, and my uncle said that he would become a leader of the people."

A few months later a letter from the brother brought hope and joy to the struggling home folk in Sweden.

"I have," wrote the boy from Minnesota, "work with a farmer who pays me 64 kroner* a month, and my board. I send you 20 kroner and will try to send that every month. This is a good country. It is like Sweden in some ways. The winter is long, and there are some cold days, but everything grows that we can grow in our country, and there is plenty. All about me are Swedes, who have taken farms and are getting rich. They eat white bread and plenty of meat. The people here do not work such long hours as in Sweden, but they work much harder, and they have a great deal of machinery, so that the crop one farmer gathers will fill two big barns. One farmer, a Swede, made more than 25,000 kroner on his crop last year."

The brother did not forget his loved ones in the fatherland, for our narrator thus continues his story:

"After that we got a letter every month from my brother. He kept doing better and better, and at last he wrote that a farm had been given him by the Government. It was sixty acres of land, good soil, with plenty of timber on it and a river running alongside. He had two fine horses and a wagon and a sleigh, and he was busy clearing the land. He wanted his brother, Eric, to go to him, but we could not spare Eric, and so Knut, the third brother, was sent. He helped Gustaf for two years, and then he took a sixty-acre farm. Both sent money home to us, and soon they sent tickets for Hilda and Christine, two of my sisters."

Hilda married a wealthy Swede who held an important office in Minneapolis, before

*A kroner is about fifty cents in United States currency.

she had been in the country six months, and she went to live in a large brick house. She then sent for Axel, the narrator of the sketch, and his sister Helene. They likewise prospered. Axel worked for his brother Knut for a year and a half, earning \$304. Of this he spent only \$12, leaving him \$292. With this he began home-making, buying a bush farm for \$150 and paying \$50 of the amount down. He then hired a French-Indian to help him clear the land and set out for his new possessions.

"We took," he says, "two toboggans loaded with our goods and provisions, and made the ten-mile journey from my brother's house in three hours. The snow was eighteen inches deep on the level, but there was a good hard crust that bore us perfectly most of the way. The cold was about 10 below zero, but we were steaming when we got to the end of our journey.

"We went into a pine grove about half way up the hill and picked out a fallen tree, with a trunk nearly five feet thick, to make one side of our first house. This tree lay from east to west. So we made a platform on the south side by stamping the snow down hard. On top of this platform we laid spruce boughs a foot deep and covered the spruce boughs over with a rubber blanket. We cut poles, about twenty of them, and laid them sloping from the snow up to the top of the tree trunk. Over these we spread canvas, and over that again large pieces of oilcloth. Then we banked up the snow on back and side, built a fire in front in the angle made by the tree root, and, as we each had two pairs of blankets, we were ready for anything from a flood to a hurricane."

By seed-time they had twelve acres ready for planting, and these were cultivated with a hoe and spade. In addition to the cultivation of the land, the young man and his helper built a log-house, a barn for two oxen he had purchased, and a cellar for fruit and vegetables. His sister Helene came up in the summer and they posted a sign on the river-bank, offering fifty cents cash for every twelve quarts of strawberries, raspberries or blackberries delivered at their cottage. For several weeks Indians came every day laden with the wild fruit which they had gathered and which grows in great abundance throughout that territory. This fruit the sister canned and

preserved and the young man sold to the store-keeper.

At the end of the year, in addition to paying \$50 on his farm, \$120 to his hired man and \$112 to his sister, he found he had \$269.83 in cash and food for five months on hand. The second year, after paying another \$50 on his home and meeting all his expenses, including \$62 for extracting stumps and making roads, he had a net profit of \$600.

This young man, like his sisters and brothers that were in this country, has become an enthusiastic American, loving his adopted land; and at the time of giving his life-story he stated that the brothers and sisters in the New World were planning to bring the father and mother and the remaining brother and sister over, that the whole family might enjoy the land which had opened to them the door of prosperity and where they enjoyed a degree of freedom and happiness not known before.

III. THE STORY OF AN ITALIAN BOOTBLACK.

Turning from ice-locked Sweden to vine-clad Italy, we have a glimpse of what America is doing for the poor of the ancient land of the Caesars. In the story told by one who had been a Neapolitan beggar-boy we have a tale quite as suggestive as that of the Swede and illustrative of the wonderful possibilities that are before the oppressed and unfortunate when they have the will, the determination, the perseverance and the power to save money and persistently follow some special work till they succeed. Rocco Corresca, who tells this life-story, states that his first recollections were associated with a large home where there were many other boys, all dressed alike. Nuns were over them, and evidently the institution was some kind of an orphan-asylum or a home for destitute children. It was situated on a mountain side, surrounded by grape-vines, oranges, plums and other fruits. Here he was taught his letters and how to pray. Here he worked in the fields with the other boys and had plenty to eat and good beds to sleep in.

"Those," he says, "were good times and they lasted till I was nearly eight years of age. Then an old man came and said he was my grandfather. He showed some papers and cried over me and said that the money had come at last and now he could take me to his beautiful home. He seemed very glad to see me and after they had looked at his papers

he took me away and we went to the big city—Naples. He kept talking about his beautiful house, but when we got there it was a dark cellar that he lived in and I did not like it at all. . . . There were four other boys in the cellar and the old man said they were all my brothers. All were larger than I and they beat me at first till one day Francesco said that they should not beat me any more, and then Paolo, who was the largest of all, fought him till Francesco drew a knife and gave him a cut. Then Paolo, too, got a knife and said that he would kill Francesco, but the old man knocked them both down with a stick and took their knives away and gave them beatings.

"Each morning we boys all went out to beg and we begged all day near the churches and at night near the theaters, running to the carriages and opening the doors and then getting in the way of the people so that they had to give us money or walk over us. The old man often watched us and at night he took all the money, except when we could hide something.

"We played tricks on the people, for when we saw some coming that we thought were rich I began to cry and covered my face and stood on one foot, and the others gathered around me and said:

"'Do n't cry! Do n't cry!'

"Then the ladies would stop and ask: 'What is he crying about? What is the matter, little boy?'

"Francesco or Paolo would answer: 'He is very sad because his mother is dead and they have laid her in the grave.'

"Then the ladies would give me money and the others would take most of it from me.

"The old man told us to follow the Americans and the English people, as they were all rich, and if we annoyed them enough they would give us plenty of money. He taught us that if a young man was walking with a young woman he would always give us silver because he would be ashamed to let the young woman see him give us less."

This old man was one of many similar human fiends who throng Naples, where begging and stealing are such popular professions. When the boys came home at night he used to accuse them of taking some of the money for food, and, not satisfied with their denial, "he used," says Rocco, "to feel us and smell us to see if we had eaten anything, and he often beat us for eating when we had not eaten."

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"Early in the morning we had breakfast of black bread rubbed over with garlic or with a herring to give it a flavor. The old man would eat the garlic or the herring himself, but he would rub our bread with it, which he said was as good. He told us that boys should not be greedy and that it was good to fast and that all the saints had fasted.

"It was very hard in the winter time for we had no shoes and we shivered a great deal. The old man said that we were no good, that we were ruining him, that we did not bring in enough money. He told me that I was fat and that people would not give money to fat beggars. He beat me, too, because I did n't like to steal, as I had heard it was wrong.

"The others all stole as well as begged, but I did n't like it and Francesco did n't like it either.

"Then the old man said to me: 'If you do n't want to be a thief you can be a cripple. That is an easy life and they make a great deal of money.'

"I was frightened then, and that night I heard him talking to one of the men that came to see him. He asked how much he would charge to make me a good cripple like those that crawl about the church. They had a dispute, but at last they agreed and the man said that I should be made so that people would shudder and give me plenty of money."

Naturally the lad was terrified and the next morning he and Francesco ran away. They finally got work with some fishermen at a village some distance from Naples. Here the chief fisherman befriended them and taught them fundamental morality, explaining that, to use the boy's own language, "all the old man had taught us was wrong—that it was bad to beg, to steal and to tell lies. He called in the priest and the priest said the same thing and was very angry at the old man in Naples, and he taught us to read and write in the evenings."

Later the two youths came to America, serving as stokers on the ship, but they had a hard time at first, as they fell into the hands of an Italian padrone who treated them much as slaves, until they learned their rights, which was almost a year after landing. Then they ran away and got work at Newark, New Jersey, under an Irish contractor. They saved every penny possible and at the end of six

months they each had almost two hundred dollars saved. In the meantime they had learned English from fellow-workmen who had learned something of the language. They taught their countrymen to read and write in return for their instruction in English during the long evenings. The contractor finally told them he had no more work, so they went to Brooklyn and volunteered to help a boot-black gratis in order to learn the trade. This done, they secured a basement near one of the ferries and opened a bootblacking establishment of their own. They made money from the first, but still saved every penny possible and lived on very frugal fare. They had planned to go back to Italy when they had one thousand dollars apiece, and buy a farm, but they have now become too much attached to America to care to leave, and they have taken out their first papers.

"I and Francesco are to be Americans in three years," says Rocco. "I am now nineteen years of age and have \$700 saved. Francesco is twenty-one and has about \$900. We shall open some more parlors soon."

IV. THE STORY OF A VICTIM OF THE RUSSIAN BEAR.

The life-history of a young Lithuanian is told with a directness, simplicity, force and convincing vividness worthy of a Tolstoi, a Zola or a Gorky. No one can read it without seeing the scenes graphically described and experiencing something of the feelings of the author. Here, for example, is a pen-picture of how the young man first heard of America and the effect of the words of the old itinerant shoemaker on the different members of the family:

"It was the shoemaker who made me want to come to America," says the Lithuanian. "He was a traveling shoemaker, for on our farms we tan our own cowhides, and the shoemaker came to make them into boots for us. By traveling he learned all the news and he smuggled in newspapers across the frontier from Germany. We were always glad to hear him talk.

"I can never forget that evening four years ago. It was a cold December night. We were in a big room in our log-house in Lithuania. My good, kind, thin old mother sat near the wide fireplace, working her brown spinning-wheel, with which she made cloth for our coats

and shirts and pants. I sat on the floor in front of her with my knee-boots off and my feet stretched out to the fire. . . . My father sat and smoked his pipe across the fireplace. Between was a kerosene lamp on a table, and under it sat the ugly shoemaker on a stool finishing a big yellow boot. His sleeves were rolled up; his arms were thin and bony, but you could see how strong the fingers and wrist were, for when he grabbed the needle he jerked it through and the whole arm's length up. This arm kept going up and down. Every time it went up he jerked back his long mixed-up red hair and grunted. And you could just see his face—bony and shut together tight, and his narrow sharp eyes looking down. Then his head would go down again, and his hair would get all mixed up. I kept watching him. . . .

"At last the boot was finished. The little shoemaker held it up and looked at it. My father stopped smoking and looked at it. 'That's a good boot,' said my father. The shoemaker grunted. 'That's a damn poor boot,' he replied (instead of 'damn' he said 'skatina'), 'a rough boot like all your boots, and so when you grow old you are lame. You have only poor things, for rich Russians get your good things, and yet you will not kick up against them. Bah!'

"I do n't like your talk," said my father, and he spit into the fire, as he always did when he began to think. 'I am honest. I work hard. We get along. That's all. So what good will such talk do me?'

"You!" cried the shoemaker, and he now threw the boot on the floor so that our big dog lifted up his head and looked around. 'It's not you at all. It's the boy—that boy there!' and he pointed to me. 'That boy must go to America!'

"Now I quickly stopped yawning and I looked at him all the time after this. My mother looked frightened and she put her hand on my head. 'No, no; he is only a boy,' she said. 'Bah!' cried the shoemaker, pushing back his hair, and then I felt he was looking right through me. 'He is eighteen and a man. You know where he must go in three years more.' We all knew he meant my five years in the army. 'Where is your oldest son? Dead. Oh, I know the Russians, the man-wolves! I served my term, I know how it is. Your son served in Turkey in the mountains. Why not here? Because they want foreign soldiers here to beat us. He had four

roubles (\$2.06) pay for three months, and with that he had to pay men like me to make his shoes and clothes. Oh, the wolves! They let him soak in rain; standing guard all night in the snow and ice he froze, the food was God's food, the vodka was cheap and rotten! Then he died. The wolves—the man-wolves! Look at this book.' He jerked a Roman Catholic prayer-book from his bag on the floor. 'Where would I go if they found this on me? Where is Wilhelm Birbell?'

"At this my father spat hard again into the fire and puffed his pipe fast.

"Where is Wilhelm Birbell?" cried the shoemaker, and we all kept quiet. We all knew. Birbell was a rich farmer who smuggled in prayer-books from Germany so that we all could pray as we liked, instead of the Russian Church way. He was caught one night and they kept him two years in the St. Petersburg jail, in a cell so narrow and short that he could not stretch out his legs, for they were very long. This made him lame for life. Then they sent him to Irkutsk, down in Siberia.

"And what is this?" He pulled out an old American newspaper, printed in the Lithuanian language, and I remember he tore it he was so angry. 'The world's good news is all kept away. We can only read what Russian officials print in their papers. Read? No, you can't read or write in your own language, because there is no Lithuanian school—only the Russian school.'

"Why can't you have your own Lithuanian school? Because you are like dogs—you have nothing to say—you have no town-meetings or province-meetings, no elections. You are slaves!

"My son is in Chicago in the stockyards, and he writes to me. They have hard knocks. If you are sick or old there and have no money you must die. That Chicago place has trouble too. Do you see that light? That is kerosene. Do you remember the price went up last year? That is Rockefeller. My son writes me about him. He is another man-wolf. A few men like him are grabbing all the good things—the oil and coal and meat and everything. But against these men you can strike if you are young. You can read free papers and prayer-books. In Chicago there are prayer-books for every man and woman. You can have free meetings and

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talk out what you think. And so if you are young you can change all these troubles.'

"He kept looking at me, but he opened the newspaper and held it up. 'Some day,' he said, 'I will be caught and sent to jail, but I do n't care. I got this from my son, who reads all he can find at night. It had to be smuggled in. I lend it many times to many young men. My son got it from the night school and he put it in Lithuanian for me to see.' Then he bent over the paper a long time and his lips moved. At last he looked into the fire and fixed his hair, and then his voice was shaking and very low:

"'We know these are true things—that all men are born free and equal—that God gives them rights which no man can take away—that among these rights are life, liberty and the getting of happiness.'"

"He stopped, I remember, and looked at me, and I was not breathing. He said it again. "'Life, liberty and the getting of happiness.'" Oh, that is what you want."

"My mother began to cry. 'He cannot go if his father commands him to stay,' she kept saying. I knew this was true, for in Lithuania a father can command his son till he dies.

"The little shoemaker gathered his tools into his big bag and threw it over his shoulder. His shoulder was crooked. Then he came close to me and looked at me hard.

"'I am old,' he said. 'I wish I were young. And you must be old soon and that will be too late. The army—the man-wolves! Bah! it is terrible.'

"After he was gone my father and I kept looking at the fire. My mother stopped crying and went out.

"The next day my father told me that I could not go until the time came for the army, three years ahead. 'Stay until then and then we will see,' he said. . . . In the coldest part of that winter my dear old mother got sick and died.

"That summer the shoemaker came again and talked with me. This time I was very eager to go to America, and my father told me I could go."

After walking ten miles he bade his sweet-

heart good-bye, and the next day he set out for America.

"My father and my younger brother," he says, "walked on all night with the guide and me. At daylight we came to the house of a man the guide knew. We slept there and that night I left my father and young brother. My father gave me \$50 besides my ticket. The next morning before light we were going through the woods and we came to the frontier. Three roads run along the frontier. On the first road there is a soldier every mile, who stands there all night. On the second road is a soldier every half mile, and on the third road is a soldier every quarter of a mile. The guide went ahead through the woods. I hid with my big bag behind a bush and whenever he raised his hand I sneaked along. I felt cold all over and sometimes hot. He told me that sometimes he took twenty immigrants together, all without passports, and then he could not pass the soldiers and so he paid a soldier he knew one dollar a head to let them by. He said the soldier was very strict and counted them to see that he was not being cheated."

At last, after many trials, the ignorant peasant boy from Lithuania reached Chicago and got a position in Packingtown. Here he was the victim of the craft, corruption and cupidity of the human cormorants that have so long flourished at the stock-yards and that have been so finely portrayed by Upton Sinclair in *The Jungle*. But at length he gained a foothold and in time learned English. He joined the Cattle Butchers' Union, which has protected him from the harpies and grafters and has proved a great aid to him, and in a sense has been much as a school to him. Of it he says:

"It has raised my wages. The man who worked at my job before the union came was getting through the year an average of \$9 a week. I am getting \$11. In my first job I got \$5 a week. The man who works there now gets \$5.75.

"It has given me more time to learn to read and speak and enjoy life like an American. I never work now from 6 A. M. to 9 P. M. and then be idle the next day. I work now from 7 A. M. to 5.30 P. M., and there are not so many idle days. The work is evened up."

With the dawn of a new day and with a little money saved up, he sent to Lithuania for

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Alexandria, his old-time sweetheart. She came and became his wife.

"With more time and more money," he says, "I live much better and I am very happy. So is Alexandria. She came a year ago and has learned to speak English already. . . . We have four nice rooms, which she keeps very clean, and she has flowers growing in boxes in the two front windows. We do not go much to church, because the church seems to be too slow. But we belong to a Lithuanian society that gives two picnics in summer and two big balls in winter, where we have a fine time.

"But we like to stay at home more now because we have a baby. When he grows up I will not send him to the Lithuanian Catholic school. They have only two bad rooms and two priests who teach only in Lithuanian from prayer books. I will send him to the American school, which is very big and good. The teachers there are Americans and they belong to the Teachers' Labor Union, which has three thousand teachers and belongs to our Chicago Federation of Labor. I am sure that such teachers will give him a good chance."

Such in outline is the story of this representative of tens of thousands of victims of Russian persecution and oppression who have fled from their fatherland to find a home and opportunity in the New World.

V. A CHILD OF GREECE IN AMERICA.

The Greek immigrant who gives the story of his life is now forty years of age. He was born in the mountains of Laconia, not far from Sparta, in a hamlet of about two hundred inhabitants.

"There was a little school in the town," he tells us, "there are schools all over Greece now—and most of the people could read and write, so they were not entirely ignorant.

"All people who were able worked from sunrise to sunset, the men on their farms or with the sheep, the women in the houses, spinning, weaving, making clothes or baking."

The people were peaceful and law-abiding. "All loved our king," he tells us, "and the royal family. Next to God we revered the king, and his whole family shared our love for him. Greeks are very democratic; but the

members of this royal family are fit to be the first citizens in a pure democracy—they have done so much for the country and for all the people.

"Of the past of our country we knew little. We only knew that once Greece had been great, the light of the world, and we hoped that the time was coming when she would again resume her leadership of men. There were no ruins and no legends and traditions among us.

"The school in my little village had only four grades, and when I had gone through these I was sent to Sparta to the High School. There I continued my education much as an American boy would do. Greece has a fine system of schools, established by the Government.

"All these later years I had been hearing from America. An elder brother was there who had found it a fine country and was urging me to join him. Fortunes could easily be made, he said. I got a great desire to see it, and in one way and another I raised the money for fare—250 francs—and set sail from the Piræus, the old port of Athens, situated five miles from that city. The ship was a French liner of 6,000 tons, and I was a deck passenger, carrying my own food and sleeping on the boards as long as we were in the Mediterranean sea, which was four days.

"As soon as we entered the ocean matters changed for the better. I got a berth and the ship supplied my food.

"New York astonished me by its size and magnificence, the buildings shooting up like mountain peaks, the bridge hanging in the sky, the crowds of ships and the elevated railways. I think that the elevated railways astonished me more than anything else.

"I got work immediately as a push-cart man. There was six of us in a company. We all lived together in two rooms down on Washington street and kept the push-carts in the cellar. Five of us took out carts every day and one was buyer, whom we called boss. He had no authority over us; we were all free. At the end of our day's work we all divided up our money even, each man getting the same amount out of the common fund—the boss no more than any other.

"That system prevails among all the push-cart men in the city of New York—practical

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communism, all sharing alike. The buyer is chosen by vote.

"I found the push-cart work not unpleasant, so far as the work itself was concerned. I began at nine o'clock in the morning and quit about six o'clock at night. I could not speak English and did not know enough to pay the police, so I was hunted down when I tried to get the good place like Nassau street, or near the Bridge entrance. Once a policeman struck me on the leg with his club so hard that I could not work for two weeks. That is wrong to strike like that a man who could not speak English.

"Push-cart peddlers who pay the police make \$500 to \$1,000 a year clear of board and all expenses, and actually save that amount in the bank; but those who do n't pay the police make from \$200 to \$300 a year. All the men in the good places pay the police. Some pay \$2 a day and some \$1 a day, and from that down to 25 cents. A policeman collects regularly, and we do n't know what he does with the money, but, of course, we suspect. The captain passes by and he must know; the sergeant comes along and he must know."

At last our Greek went to Chicago where he entered the employ of one of his countrymen, who, however, would not teach him any English beyond the prices of the fruit he sold. Nothing daunted, he determined to master our language, at least to such a degree as to enable him to intelligently conduct business for himself; so, he tells us:

"I wrote home to my uncle in Athens to send me a Greek-English dictionary, and when it came I studied it all the time and in three months I could speak English quite well. I did not spend a cent and soon found a better job, getting \$17 a month and my board. In a little while I had \$106 saved, and I opened a little fruit store of my own near the Academy of Music."

One night, however, a lamp exploded and the poor Greek was frightfully burned and his little shop entirely destroyed. He was in the hospital for many weeks, during which time all the money he had saved was completely exhausted. After this, misfortune seemed to dog his pathway for a time. He became a tramp, searching for any kind of work. At last an opening was found in a

bicycle shop where he earned \$9 a week and saved \$7; so he found himself again on the highway to prosperity. When the war between Greece and Turkey broke out he joined the hosts of American Greeks who hastened to the fatherland to fight for freedom.

But "when the war was over," he says, "I returned to this good country and became a citizen. I got down to business, worked hard and am worth about \$50,000 to-day. I have fruit stores and confectionery stores.

"There are about 10,000 Greeks in New York now, living in and around Roosevelt, Madison and Washington streets; about 200 of them are women. They all think this is a fine country. Most of them are citizens. Only about ten per cent. go home again, and of these many return to America, finding that they like their new home better than their old one.

"The Greeks here are almost all doing well; there are no beggars and no drunkards among them, and the worst vice they have is gambling.

His story is interesting chiefly because it illustrates the power of moral idealism over the imagination of a people that has behind it the heritage of a glorious past, and also because it unconsciously displays leading characteristics or national traits of the Greeks. Greece will yet be great because the greatness of her past is as a pillar of fire ever before her people, and the old-time love of freedom and of beauty burns brightly in the souls of her children. Perhaps the power of moral idealism in regard to national dreams and patriotic aspirations was never better illustrated than in the Greek people. Here, from greatest to least, one finds a yearning for the renewed youth of the fatherland, a great hope and a living faith that the hour will yet strike when Greece will again be the cradle of a great art and philosophy and a leader among the nations of civilization. And in this life-story of the Greek peasant who came to America we find voiced this native hope, this dream of the children of Hellas, wherever they are found.

"We Greeks are doing well here," says our immigrant. "We are taking citizenship and we like this country; but the condition of the country we have left disturbs us, and we would give all we possess, every cent, all our money and goods, to see Greece free.

"Greece, the country as it is to-day, has only 2,500,000 inhabitants, but there are 18,-

000,000 Greeks living in Turkey under virtual slavery. In the city of Constantinople three out of four inhabitants are Greeks. We want to see them all free.

"They are ready for freedom, they are educated. There are ten Greek schools, for every Turkish school in Turkey, and the people are intelligent. The American schools there have done great things, so it would be easy to set up free Greece again in all the country formerly ruled over from Constantinople before the coming of the Turks.

"We Greeks feel that our country will rise again, happy and prosperous, free and glorious standing once more as leader of the nations."

VI. OTHER LIFE-STORIES.

These stories of the children of Scandinavia and Lithuania, of Italy and Greece, are by no means all that illustrate how the oppressed of other lands are becoming valuable and successful citizens in our Republic, which are given in this volume; yet the book is by no means devoted to pen-pictures of "Americans in the making." There is, for example, the French dressmaker, who finds America only a golden orange which she is using to obtain sustenance sufficient to enable her to return and live in comfort in Paris. Here, too, is the pitiful life-story, of a negro peon in the South; the tragic tale of the wife of a western farmer who is absorbed in money-getting and who thwarts almost all her efforts to broaden her culture; the pathetic and morally heroic story of a Methodist itinerant minister, who for twenty years has had a salary that only averaged \$380 on which to support himself and family, and who has done so without running in debt. And there are many other entertaining stories, one of the most interesting being the unique tale of an Igorrote chief who came with a band of Filipinos to Coney Island, and who frankly describes his early life and the habits and customs of his people. He likes the Americans but despises the Spaniards. He feels very badly, however, for the Americans and hopes they will learn some lessons from his civilization, which he explains is the oldest in the world. Indeed, his island was the original Garden of Eden, according to his view, and here also was the Deluge. How does he know this? Because

the story has been handed down from father to son since the great flood. Three times every year the patriarchs of this people tell the story of creation and the Deluge, explaining how only seven lives were saved at the time of the flood. They were in a great canoe which landed on a mountain. This mountain he has often seen. He feels sorry for the poor deluded Americans because they wear clothes and work so hard. In speaking of this he says:

"They are good people, but they do not look well. They all wear clothes, even the children. It is bad that any one should wear clothes, but much worse for the children. We pity them. They cannot be well unless they leave their clothes off and let the wind and the sun get to their skins. Perhaps they are ashamed because they don't look well with their clothes off. They are thin and stooping and pale.

"That is because they work so much. It is very foolish to work. Men who work hard do not live long.

"Everything we want grows in the forest; we make our houses out of cane, rattan and leaves, our women weave our loin cloths, and we get our food from the trees and from the fields of rice and sweet potatoes and sugar-cane.

"Why cannot the Americans live like that? I would tell them about our ways if I could, because I feel sorry for them; they look sick and they should never put clothes on the children. If God had meant the children to wear clothes he would have clothed them himself.

"Maybe many of the people cover themselves up because they know that they do not look well without clothes; they are too thin or too fat, or they are crooked. That is why the women hide their shapes, I suppose. But if they lived as our women do they would soon look as well as ours look. Our women by climbing about the mountains have large limbs and look handsome."

This volume is a book of rare interest, but it is far more than that. Many chapters are in reality sermons of real value for our people, rich in lessons that should be of peculiar worth to young men and women.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

PARRY AND HIS BOOK.†

THE CITY that is set upon the hill cannot be hid, nor can the house that is built thereon, nor can the dweller therein, especially if the house be of glass and, by throwing stones, he makes himself the cynosure, whether in envy or contempt, of all eyes. But while the aforesaid dweller may be visible to others, it does not follow that others are visible to him. Such seems to be the unfortunate condition of David M. Parry who lives, both literally and figuratively, on Golden Hill, Indianapolis. Mr. Parry has been much in the limelight as an explosive whose fulminations have been directed against organized labor. He has now written a book against Socialism which he calls *The Scarlet Empire*. In it, he sets out to paint an unutopian Utopia, his idea of the aims of Socialism, and not only does he heap upon this a mountain of sarcasm and burlesque, but he also takes occasion to laud our present system. From the Socialist standpoint, Mr. Parry's literary effort is successful mainly in proving that what he does not know or care to reveal about Socialism, would fill several volumes quite as large as *The Scarlet Empire*.

I think it is generally true that anti- or non-socialists are more given to prophecy as to the working out of the details of society following the advent of Socialism than are the Socialists themselves. Those who conclude, a priori, that Socialism seeks to destroy private property and entirely submerge the individual need possess but little imagination to conjure up all sorts of horrible nightmares as to the future of the race. But the Socialist is not concerned with the conclusions of these dreamers; he is concerned with their premises. The Socialist claims to be no less interested in freeing the individual than is the avowed "individualist" himself, asserting with vigor and, I think, with logic, that the coöperative

commonwealth offers the only comprehensive means to this end.

Crediting Mr. Parry with sincerity, we find his appointed task to be twofold: First, he must prove that the individual is free under the present anomalous, partially competitive and partially monopolistic, partially private and partially public-ownership, chaotic lack of system; and, second, he must prove wherein Socialism, by removing the most virulent struggle of the average modern individual,—that of mere existence, of obtaining the simple means of life,—submerges the individual or otherwise injuriously affects him. Such collations of undeniable facts as presented by Jack London in *The People of the Abyss*, Robert Hunter in *Poverty*, Israel Zangwill in *The Children of the Ghetto*, John Spargo in *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, Upton Sinclair in *The Jungle*, and the United States government in the census of the unemployed, ought to be sufficient answer to the first proposition, and to prove that the individual is not free under the present system. And, if the Socialist may be allowed the same license as the individualist to quote Herbert Spencer, who said that Socialism was "the coming slavery," we may recall that he also said that no man can be free until all are free. Hence no man is now free.

Socialism claims to devote itself exclusively to the field of economics and seeks by definite plan, to obliterate the struggle for existence. The claim therefore that it will affect the freedom of the individual, except to increase it, embodies a manifest absurdity. How can a man be enslaved by making him more free? Whether or not Socialism will render the struggle less intense or entirely obliterate it as such, may still be a debatable question, but, that the removal of the struggle for existence will, by relieving man of his most onerous burden, efface his individuality has no ground to stand on. Before man can do any other thing, he must live. Before he may devote himself to art, literature, science and the solving of political and economic problems, he must possess

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

† *The Scarlet Empire*. By David M. Parry. Cloth. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs, Merrill Co.

the means of life, food, clothing, shelter and fuel. If he can not procure these or if the procuring of them requires his whole time, he acquires no remarkable individuality. He dies or remains a mere animal. The thought of ideals or of a higher life is entirely obscured by the necessities of a mere colorless existence. What if a man have ambitions and no time to indulge them? What if he have dreams and no time to interpret them? What if he have talent and no time to develop it?

Mr. Parry has naught to do with the struggle for existence. He lives without effort. His attention is not occupied with the question of how to live but of how to live better and more luxuriously. Although he is called a self-made man, it is doubtful if he could be said to have ever been compelled to struggle for the necessities of life. In his formative period, class distinctions were not so sharply drawn and the problem was not how to stay in the world but how to get ahead in the world. Will Mr. Parry admit that the fact of his having time to devote to the study of political economy and to be the president of National Association of Manufacturers has been injurious to his individuality? I think not, and yet he must make this admission if he contends that the removal of the struggle for existence is subversive of individuality. But what has happened to Mr. Parry and others of his class? Now have those who have got ahead in the world been affected by escaping the struggle for existence? Some wit might rejoinder that if the removal of the struggle for existence developed men like Parry, we better keep things as they are. It is true that Mr. Parry is a product of the struggle for existence, but he is a product of the general struggle and not of his own particular struggle. In his circumspection and retrospection, he mistakes the fact of the struggle for the *sine qua non* of the development of all or the majority. The subject of political economy does not concern itself with the welfare and development of a particular man or set of men, but of all men. In the words of one of his characters, Mr. Parry describes this as the land "where each man fights his own battles and revels in the strife." The idea of battle is necessarily related to the idea of victor and vanquished. Mr. Parry is one of the victors in the battle for wealth accumulation. According to that standard he is a success. But there are other men, vastly greater in number, who were vanquished. These men will have a different

story to tell of the battle. The strife for them was not so much of a revel. Indeed, it might be true that Mr. Parry reveled more in the winning than in the striving.

Mr. Parry is a strong personality. In spite of the struggle for existence, he has got ahead in the world. He has so mastered the first great law of nature, self-preservation, even at the cost of his fellows, as to allow room for the free play of the second great law of nature, love of approbation. But that he won the approbation of a few and the aversion of the many would rather seem to prove that he had not mastered the second law so well as the first.

While the prophetic state described in *The Scarlet Empire*, in satire and burlesque, may or may not be warranted as a prophecy, it is not substantially connected with Socialism, although it is undoubtedly closely connected with Mr. Parry's idea of Socialism. But, Socialism or not, an examination of the regulations of this supposed state, offered in evidence of the despicable character of its tyranny, finds them to be more objectionable superficially than under the microscope. For instance, these benighted people are described as dressing alike. We dress alike now. Mr. Parry would no more think of appearing at a formal function in any but the highly conventional dress suit than he would of voting the Socialist ticket. Only a day or two ago, I heard Jack London bitterly criticised for daring to follow his own individual preferences by appearing in a green sweater where his critic thought a dress suit the only proper thing. Conventionality, or unwritten law, now prescribes the most minute details for many of our daily actions. Women must wear dresses. There are even statutes that they must not appear in public in man's garb. These dresses by custom must be about the same in length. Similarly, man must wear trousers. Priests must dress just so and be clean shaven. Ministers must dress in black, likewise undertakers. Thousands of employes are compelled to wear uniforms. Whether these regulations are good or bad, I do not know, but it is clear that in the matter of dress, Mr. Parry's figment does not differ materially from present-day reality.

Also in the matter of eating, Mr. Parry is more satirical in spirit than in fact. He causes his hero to introduce a resolution providing for the equal use of the maxillary muscles in mastication. That is ridiculous to be sure.

But to-day science and conventionality undertake details fully as minute and ridiculous. In giving a fashionable dinner now, Mr. Parry must begin with soup and end with nuts. Not only must he eat with a fork, but he must eat each course with a different fork and further he must eat each course with a different kind of fork. When not in use, his napkin must be held in his lap. He must serve his wine in a particular way. All these and other things he must do, or suffer the punishment of being anathematized as a boor or a crank.

Another of the objections offered in evidence by Mr. Parry is that marriages are arranged by the state. If the Socialist raised this as an objection, he would be immediately charged with advocating "free love." If marriages are not arranged by the state now, how are they arranged? And, judging from the immense number of divorces, disarrangements, the methods of our present system are far from ideal.

And further we are told that these "socialized" people have no names but are known by number. We are tempted at this to ask classically, "What's in a name?" But is it not a solemn fact that under our industrial system, numbers are rapidly replacing names as a means of designating? I venture the assertion that most of the wage-earners in Mr. Parry's employ are designated by number. But what is the difference whether designation is made by a combination of sundry letters or by a combination of sundry figures? We look in the directory and see whole columns of John Smiths and John Joneses and Mary Smiths and Mary Joneses and the like. To these the matter of name lends no individuality. Might not numbers in such cases have distinct advantages over letters.

We are further informed that stringent laws were enacted to restrain personal enthusiasm. We are familiar with such laws to-day, less perhaps in this country than in Russia, for instance. Mr. Parry himself might be charged with favoring such laws when the personal enthusiasm is expressed in favor of organized labor. Injunctions against the activities of union men during strikes are distinctly laws to restrain personal enthusiasm. And so it is with the other detailed "objections" of Mr. Parry. Some are real and these are opposed more ardently perhaps by the socialist than by the individualist. But most of his objections find their counterpart in modern society

and whether they are apparent or real is merely a matter of opinion having no connection with Socialism.

The ruling spirit of the modern capitalistic state may be read between the lines of the plot of *The Scarlet Empire* where the hero, having been admitted into the society in good faith, conspires to destroy it by the enactment of ambiguous laws designed to benefit himself at the expense of the society. Thus, and in other instances in the book, stealth and double-dealing are made to adorn the badge of heroism.

The Scarlet Empire is not a discussion of Socialism. It is rather a developed misconception of Socialism. It is a house built on the illusive sands of fundamental error or false premises. Mr. Parry has not made a case against Socialism. It is ever questionable whether he has made a case against his own conception of Socialism. Mr. Parry hates the Socialism that he has conceived and, if rather in spirit than in form, the socialism he describes is certainly hateful. Herbert Spencer hated the socialism that he conceived to be the "coming slavery." But Herbert Spencer also conceived socialism to be as inevitable as the incoming waves of Biarritz. In respect of its inevitableness, the Socialists agree entirely with Spencer, but they view its coming with supreme complacency. They believe its coming is the next step in an ascending evolution, that it comes as an emancipation rather than an enslavement. The capitalist views it as an impracticable dream. The Socialist views the present system, or lack of system, as an impracticable nightmare, established on trial.

We find therefore the Spencerians quiescently shuddering at the inevitable or seeking in vain for a means to avoid the unavoidable. We find the capitalist, whom Mr. Parry typifies, trying to avoid the unavoidable by ridicule, satire and misconception. We find the Socialist facing the inevitable with serenity, seeking to understand its nature and its laws and thus to usher it in with the least possible friction and attendant misery. As for prophecies, whether favorable or adverse, they are interesting only as studies; they prove nothing. The only way that Socialism can be proved either practicable or impracticable is by a trial. And since it is inevitable, the sooner it comes the better.

ELLIS O. JONES.

Marriage. By Jane Dearborn Mills. Cloth. Ornamental Cover. Pp. 84. Philadelphia, The Nunc Licet Press.

MRS. MILLS is one of the most fundamental thinkers who have written seriously on the marriage question. She is deeply religious and handles the subject chiefly from the spiritual standpoint. She well observes:

"There is one principle which obtains throughout the universe, and every action, even the smallest, is the effect of it, as truly as the entire creation. It is the law of union and fruition. The sight of the snow crystals was the fruit of the light uniting with my eye. So every thought, and act, and feeling, as well as all material things, are brought forth by two somethings acting as one. Below the human plane the unions are temporary, and of either good or bad results. With the human when they are true, they are marriage, which is always good in its effects. The various human sexual relations not permanent, or not good, are not marriage, although some of them are called so. The inner personal marriage between husband and wife is that which gives value to the external."

She holds, and rightly holds, that:

"The life of marriage depends upon two conditions—*permanency and inner union*. Real marriage is a constant growth in spiritual oneness, and temporariness cannot promote it. To the husband and wife who love their marriage with each other, the finding out how they may make a mutual adjustment of their natures is their greatest joy."

Again, she is very sensible in her observations on divorce:

"What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." This most sacred truth has been much profaned, by practically reversing it,—What man has joined together, let not even God put asunder. God has had nothing to do with some marriage ceremonies except to permit them, as He does other evils. They have been conceived in iniquity, shapen in sin, and presided over by the Prince of Darkness, to whom the priest has lent his services, simply because he must, having had no power to refuse, or interfere."

Mrs. Mills' position is fundamentally moral. She is as strongly opposed to free love or promiscuity as she is to prostitution within the

marriage bond, but she goes behind the pitifully shallow and essentially degrading attitude of the most reactionary and dogmatic churches and parrot-like conventionalists, who never look beneath the surface or seek for the foundation, so that evils may be rationally remedied. She shows that a marriage to be true must represent a union of love and wisdom, of devotion and judgment, which culminates in service—that sweet soul-developing service where both husband and wife strive to understand each other, to become one in spirit and aspiration and to mutually aid, uplift and develop each other. She thoughtfully points out a fact that may only be appreciated by those who possess the intuitive or mystic eye to see the deep things of life, and that is that the union of devotion or love with judgment or wisdom ever gives birth to that spiritual offspring, service, which rounds out life and fills it with richness and beauty. Even those who are not mated in this life may experience a large degree of the fruition that comes alone from service, the child of love and wisdom.

"Service," says our author, "to be the child of the inner marriage, necessitates the having of some external work for which one is responsible. Mere desultory duties cannot satisfy a strong affection. One must love steadily, to love deeply; also, wisdom cannot unite with love which wanders from one aim to another. The inner marriage needs a body of permanency, exactly as the personal marriage needs the same external form. The lack of it is noticeable in the 'unmarried' atmosphere of single men and women who have no special interest in anything of value."

On the subject of remarriage after divorce Mrs. Mills has some excellent observations, from which we quote the following:

"There are ideas, always brought up in the discussion of marriage laws, which are commonly treated with an abundance of thought that does not reach far below the surface. The rigorist theory of divorce is one. This has, for centuries, been practiced by the Roman Church, the oldest and largest Christian denomination in the world. Its record, that, with the exception of Ireland, the Catholic countries are distinguished for an immorality forming the life of a majority of their peoples, high and low, leaves no need for further research into the theory.

"A Protestant modification of this law is, —Divorce, but no remarriage. Sensible persons favor this decree, yet it is among those man-made laws which have no common sense for their foundation. This alone, taking no other proof, shows the dearth of thought upon marriage as character-building, and is an evidence of the attempt to uphold the institution artificially. One moment's consideration will show its utter unreason. The divorced person is bound to a dead contract, as one Siamese twin, living, to his dead brother, bound to a bond which does not bind, to an obligation without duties or responsibilities, except not to do something which the former husband or wife has no longer any right to care for, whether it is done or not. What kind of a ghastly thing is this for sensible humanity to torture itself with,—to stunt and cripple and deaden the life remaining to some of its members, and consequently to its own as a whole? The measure is supposed to be a preventive of divorce. This is trying to prevent an evil by after penalty, rather than by previous instruction, a method which has always failed and is always failing. The Protestant Church, as a whole, has never lifted its voice in teaching that marriage is the highest form of character-building.

"Often it is said that the prohibition of divorce, or of remarriage after, is not injurious to the individual, because all suffering is regenerative. All needful suffering is regenerative, like the pain which comes to the injured limb, reviving into health. Unneedful suffering is the torture which leads to death.

"Also, they say, that by this theory are sacrificed only the few for the good of the many. This, too, is untenable. A hand cannot be maimed, a leg crippled, or a heart diseased without a weakening of the whole body. Neither can the character-growth of any person be obstructed without enfeebling the fiber of the great humanity."

Some readers may not agree with all our author's positions, and those who belong to the stolid, matter-of-fact element, who possess small idealism or spiritual perception, will find it difficult at all times to follow Mrs. Mills. Yet no one can, we think, read the book without being made better for its perusal, and we earnestly wish every young man and woman, and especially every young married couple,

could carefully read it from cover to cover. It would in many instances, we are convinced, lead to that spiritual awakening that would draw the young people into that deep and perfect union that constitutes true marriage, for, after all, very much of the domestic infelicity of the day arises from the criminal negligence of parents, the school and the church in failing to inculcate ethical idealism and to impress the mutual responsibilities, duties and obligations that each bears to the other; or, in a word, to point out to the young the royal road of true happiness and also to show the pitfalls of death that are to be avoided.

Susan Clegg and Her Neighbors' Affairs.
By Anne Warner. Cloth. Pp. 220. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little Brown & Company.

THE SUSAN CLEGG stories have proved very popular and this new volume will be warmly received by Miss Warner's admirers. In the present volume we have "Mrs. Lathrop's Love Affair," in two parts; "Old Man Ely's Proposal"; "The Wolf at Susan's Door," in four parts; and "A Very Superior Man."

Susan Clegg is one of the most original characters in present-day American fiction, and yet she is sufficiently true to life to give the necessary human interest that the popular taste calls for, even in humorous or semi-humorous writings. We do not think, however, that the present volume is quite up to the former short stories by this author, and from our point-of-view it is very inferior to *The Rejuvenation of Aunt Mary*.

Spurgeon's Illustrative Anecdotes. Selected and Classified by Rev. Louis Albert Banks, D.D. Cloth. Pp. 314. Price, \$1.20 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS volume embraces a vast treasury of the anecdotes and illustrations used by the great London Baptist divine during his long and successful ministrations in London. They are especially adapted as aids for Orthodox clergymen, workers in Christian Endeavor Societies, or other laborers among Evangelical workers who may at some time be at a loss for some apt illustrations. The work is admirably classified and arranged so that any special subject can be readily found.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

PROFESSOR SHELDON'S IMPORTANT PAPER: In *Shall Lynching Be Suppressed, and How?* Professor WINTHROP D. SHELDON, LL.D., of Girard College, Philadelphia furnishes an important contribution to the discussion of one of the most serious problems of the hour. Lynching is one of the greatest national scandals of our day. It is an evil the presence of which always indicates one of two things,—either the lax enforcement of law which brings about a popular reaction in which the people arrogate the right to do what the government is commissioned to perform, or a state of lawlessness and general mental aberration that is the reverse of normal—a condition that is not only unfavorable to orderly progress and advancing civilization, but which is morally disintegrating, destroying all sense of moral proportions and reverence for law in its orderly workings, and indicating the lack of that individual and collective restraint which is a chief distinguishing characteristic of sanity. The lynchings that have taken place in the United States during the past twenty-five years have rarely, if ever, been the result of a belief on the part of society that the victim would escape punishment. Hence they are not only inexcusable but indicate a general lack in moral and mental control which calls for the most serious consideration on the part of statesmen, educators, and, indeed, all thoughtful citizens. Professor SHELDON is a distinguished educator, a man of high moral ideals and a deep philosopher. He recognizes the fact that the Republic must seriously suffer unless some definite remedies be found which shall prevent the spread of this mania for taking the lives of those accused of crime in an extra-legal way. Whether the remedy he proposes is the best means at hand to control the evil is an open question, but though one may not agree as to the wisdom of extending the central power of government in the way suggested, all serious-minded persons will, we think, find in this paper much food for reflection.

Economics of Jesus: Few papers have appeared in THE ARENA of late that have occasioned greater interest or called forth more strong words of approval than the series of contributions from the pen of Professor GEORGE MCA. MILLER on the *Economics of Moses*. This month we open the complementary series of papers by Professor MILLER dealing with the *Economics of Jesus*. Not in a generation has there been greater interest manifested on all sides in the discussion of social, economic and political issues than at the present time, and it is one of the most hopeful indications of the day that the church at last is awakening to the importance of demanding a larger meed of justice for the toiler than he has received.

Mr. Nye's Work for Progressive Democracy: We have received a number of inquiries from friends

desiring to know if we were not going to continue our series of articles dealing with representative American cartoonists. In reply to these friends we would say it is our purpose to continue these sketches. They have been crowded out during the last few months owing to the press of other material, but this month we publish a continuance of the sketches in a paper dealing with W. Gordon Nye: *A Cartoonist of Jeffersonian Democracy*. Following Mr. NYE's sketch we give some brief comments on our second series of original drawings by the brilliant Australian artist and cartoonist, Mr. GEORGE TAYLOR. His pictures this month teach a great lesson which should appeal to serious-minded Christians everywhere, as they illustrate in a telling manner how recreant in many respects is the church to-day and how strikingly does her position suggest the attitude of the conventional religious element at the time when Jesus was sneered at and derided because he ministered to the poor and placed justice, equity and brotherhood above all personal considerations.

Ayacuchio: The Spanish Waterloo of South America: At the present time the eyes of our people are turned toward South America, owing to Secretary ROOR's extended tour for the laudable purpose of creating more cordial relations between the republics of the two Americas and for promoting mutually advantageous trade relations. Hence Professor NOA's highly interesting and authoritative story of the great crucial battle that settled the conflict between the forces of European monarchical rule and those of South American progressive democracy is particularly timely. It has long been a cause for serious regret that our people have been so indifferent to the history and achievements and the potential greatness of the southern republics, and so short-sighted as to neglect to cultivate more cordial relations. Secretary BLAINE, it is true, with the vision of a true statesman recognized the enormous advantages which would accrue to our Republic if we were wise enough and great enough to cultivate the closest commercial relations with the Spanish-American nations, but, since his death, the government has been so largely in the hands of short-sighted, small-visioned and self-seeking politicians who have been chiefly concerned in carrying out the orders or wishes of their real masters, the trusts and corporations, that this important question has been ignored. It is to be hoped that Secretary ROOR's visit will mark the dawn of a new order and that henceforth our people will recognize the importance of doing everything in reason to cultivate the closest and friendliest relations with the sister republics of the south. Professor NOA's series of papers on South America cannot fail to possess strong interest for thoughtful Americans, especially at the present time. Next month we expect to publish a highly interesting

contribution in this series from the Professor's pen dealing with the great South American educator and statesman, SARMIENTO.

In speaking of Professor NOA, we desire to call the attention of our readers to his scholarly paper, which is one of the strongest features of the summer number of *Post Lore*, in which he describes at length the recent successful presentation in the National Theatre of Havana of the great tragedy written by Cuba's most illustrious poet and dramatist, GERTRUDIS GOMEZ DE AVELLANEDA, entitled "Baltazar." The paper contains a critical analysis of the play presented in a pleasing and interesting manner, and a brief note relating to the life of the author, the most distinguished literary daughter of the Antilles.

The Thaw-White Tragedy: One of the most timely papers in this issue is the contribution by the well-known author and liberal pulpit orator, HENRY FRANK, of New York City, on *The Thaw-White Tragedy*. In this paper Mr. FRANK in the striking and epigrammatic style for which he is justly famous tells some plain truths and draws impressive lessons that must be heeded if our nation is to avoid the rocks which proved the shipwreck of many of the proudest civilizations of elder days.

The Cause and Cure of Our Marine Decay: Another timely paper that will appeal to the more thoughtful of our people and especially those who are interested in the true greatness and normal development of our nation rather than the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many, is Mr. W. W. BATES' extremely thoughtful paper on *The Cause and Cure of Our Marine Decay*. Mr. BATES, as we have pointed out before, is the author of two of the largest and most authoritative volumes on the American Merchant Marine that have been published in America. He is one of the ablest and most competent specialists in marine history in the land, and we doubt if any statesman in public life to-day has anything like the grasp of this subject which he possesses. Hence his views are entitled to the serious consideration of our people, especially at the time when the ship-subsidy thieves are trying to break into the public treasury under the false pretence that their primary interest is in increasing American commerce. Mr. BATES' views will not be pleasant to the grafters, but they will appeal to men who are at once interested in the development of the merchant marine and the extension of American commerce and who have no sympathy with the various devices to further impoverish the masses for the over-enrichment of the few.

Stock-Gamblers as Managers of Railroads: In the August ARENA we published an extremely important brief paper by the Hon. THOMAS SPED MOSBY, entitled *The Court is King*. This month we take pleasure in publishing a complementary and equally timely discussion by STEPHEN H. ALLEN, Esquire, one of the most prominent lawyers of Kansas. Mr. ALLEN is at the present time Chairman of the committee appointed by the State Bar of Kansas for making a general revision of the Code of Procedure. The report of this committee,

it is believed, will have great influence on the legislature and in all probability will be followed by substantial reforms in court procedure.

The Liquor Traffic: This month we publish the second of our series of papers presenting widely divergent views on the liquor traffic and how it should be best controlled. Last month Mr. HENDRICKSON presented the view of the Prohibitionists. This month Mr. RAPPAPOORT in a very thoughtful paper, entitled *Social Conditions and the Liquor Problem*, argues for high license. We hope in our October number to be able to present a paper that has been prepared for this series, entitled *Socialism and the Liquor Traffic*, by WILLIAM H. WATTS.

Our National Library: This month we resume the fascinating series of papers by FRANK VROOMAN on constructive work by the national government. We have seen in the brilliant papers on the splendid work achieved by the Agricultural Department how this one great bureau is adding millions upon millions of dollars to the wealth of the nation, not only by introducing and fostering the cultivation of new and important plants and valuable animal life, but also by finding remedies for checking the devastation of the various pests that confront the agriculturist at every turn.

In this issue we have described a great educational institution—the magnificent Congressional Library. This paper will be followed by two further contributions by Mr. VROOMAN on Civil Service and the Spoils System.

A Cure for Municipal Bribery: We invite the attention of all of our readers to Mr. CRANE'S thought-stimulating paper, entitled *A Cure for Municipal Bribery*, it being one of our series of papers dealing with municipal problems and how to meet them.

Liberty, Law and Labor: One of the most thought-stimulating papers in this issue of THE ARENA will be found in the discussion by FANNIE HUMPHREYS GAFFNEY, Honorary President of the National Council of Women of the United States, on *Liberty, Law and Labor*. It is a paper that should be widely read at the present time when a systematic effort is being made by the trust magnates and the capitalistic class as a whole to break the power of organized labor, and when false and delusive appeals are being scattered broadcast which are well calculated to mislead, by their plausible sophistry, all who do not think deeply on social questions.

The Primary Cause of Alternate Activity and Depression in Trade: The very thoughtful paper by Mr. SAMUEL BRAZIER in this issue calls for careful reading on the part of serious men and women. Mr. BRAZIER has for years been one of the closest students of social and economic progress in the East, and has written extensively and well upon trade conditions. His investigations and experience entitle him to be considered as an authority. The reason he ascribes for depression in trade is, we believe, fundamentally sound. At least, it is certainly one of the chief causes of depression.

